

stamp-duties were removed shortly after their imposition, and were not again enforced until 1725. In order to understand how so small a duty as one halfpenny should operate so strongly upon these periodical publications, we must look at the price at which they were vended at that period. The majority of them were published at a penny, many at a halfpenny, and some were even published so low as a farthing"—C. H. Timperley, *Encyclopædia of Literary and Typographical Anecdotes*, pp. 601-602.

A. D. 1723.—End of Newspaper monopoly in France.—Until Louis XVI. was dethroned, Paris was officially supposed to possess but three periodicals: the 'Gazette de France' for politics, 'Le Journal des Savants' for literature and science, and the 'Mercure de France' for politics, literature, and social matters mingled. For a time these monopolies were respected, but only for a very short time. . . . During the Regency of the Duke of Orleans (1715-23), the 'Gazette de France,' 'Mercure,' and 'Journal des Savants' combined to bring an action for infringement against all the papers then existing, but they were non-suited on a technical objection, and this was their last attempt at asserting their prerogative.—*The French Press* (Cornhill Mag., Oct., 1873).

A. D. 1734.—Zenger's trial in New York.—Determination of the freedom of the Press. See New York: A. D. 1720-1734.

A. D. 1771.—Freedom of Parliamentary reporting won in England. See ENGLAND: A. D. 1771.

A. D. 1777.—The first Daily Newspaper in France.—"In 1777 there appeared the 'Journal de Paris,' which only deserves notice from its being the first daily paper issued in France."—*Westminster Rev.*, July, 1860, p. 219.

A. D. 1784-1813.—The earliest daily Newspapers in the United States.—"The first daily newspaper published in the United States was the 'American Daily Advertiser.' It was issued in Philadelphia in 1784, by Benjamin Franklin Bache, afterwards of the Aurora. When the seat of national government was in Philadelphia, it shared the confidence and support of Jefferson with the 'National Gazette.' It was strong in its opposition to the Federal section of the administration of Washington, and to all the measures originating with Hamilton. Zachariah Poulson became its proprietor and publisher in 1802, and it was known as 'Poulson's Advertiser,' and we believe he continued its publisher till October 28, 1839, when the establishment was sold to Bruce and Newbold, the publishers of a new paper called the 'North American.' The name after that was the 'North American and Daily Advertiser.' . . . The 'New York Daily Advertiser,' the second real journal in the United States, was published in 1785. It was commenced on the 1st of March by Francis Childs & Co. . . . On the 29th of July, 1786, the 'Pittsburg (Penn.) Gazette,' the first newspaper printed west of the Alleghany Mountains, appeared, and in 1796 the 'Post' was issued. . . . 'The United States Gazette' was started in New York in 1789 by John Fenno, of Boston. Its original name was 'Gazette of the United States.' It was first issued in New York, because the seat of the national government was then in that city. When Congress removed to Philadelphia in 1790, the 'Gazette' went with that body. In 1792 it was the special organ of Alexander Hamilton.

. . . Noah Webster, the lexicographer of America, was a lawyer in 1793, and had an office in Hartford, Connecticut. Washington's administration was then violently assailed by the 'Aurora,' 'National Gazette,' and other organs of the Republican Party, and by the partisans of France. Jefferson was organizing the opposition elements, and Hamilton was endeavoring to strengthen the Federal party. Newspapers were established on each side as the chief means of accomplishing the objects each party had in view. Noah Webster was considered, in this state of affairs, the man to aid the Federalists journalistically in New York. He was, therefore, induced to remove to that city and take charge of a Federal organ. On the 9th of December, 1793, he issued the first number of a daily paper, which was named the 'Minerva.' According to its imprint, it appeared 'every day, Sundays excepted, at four o'clock, or earlier if the arrival of the mail will permit.' . . . With the 'Minerva' was connected a semi-weekly paper called the 'Herald.' . . . The names of 'Minerva' and 'Herald' were shortly changed to those of 'Commercial Advertiser' and 'New York Spectator,' and these names have continued. . . . The 'Commercial Advertiser' is the oldest daily newspaper in the metropolis. Of the hundreds of daily papers started in New York, from the time of Bradford's Gazette in 1725 to the 'Journal of Commerce' in 1827, there are now [1872] only two survivors—the 'Evening Post' and the 'Commercial Advertiser.' . . . The first prominent daily paper issued in New England was the Boston Daily Advertiser, the publication of which was commenced on the 3d of March, 1813. There was a daily paper begun in that city on the 6th of October, 1796, by Alexander Martin, and edited by John O'Leary Burk, one of the 'United Irishmen.' It lived about six months. It was called the Polar Star and Boston Daily Advertiser. Another was attempted on the 1st of January, 1798, by Caleb P. Wayne, who was afterwards editor of the United States Gazette of Philadelphia. This second daily paper of Boston was named the Federal Gazette and Daily Advertiser. It lived three months. The third attempt at a daily paper in the capital of Massachusetts was a success. It was published by William W. Clapp, afterwards of the Saturday Evening Gazette, and edited by Horatio Biglow.—F. Hudson, *Journalism in the United States*, pp. 175-194, and 378.

A. D. 1785-1812.—The founding of "The Times," in London.—"The beginning of 'leading articles.'—The newspaper afterwards famous as 'The Times' was started, in 1785, under the name of the 'Daily Universal Register,' and did not adopt the title of 'The Times' until the 1st of January, 1788.—J. Grant, *The Newspaper Press*, v. 1, ch. 18.—"All the newspapers that can be said to have been distinguished in any way till the appearance of the 'Times' were distinguished by some freak of cleverness. . . . The 'Times' took up a line of its own from the first day of its existence. The proprietors staked their fortunes upon the general character of their paper, upon the promptitude and accuracy of its intelligence, upon its policy, upon the frank and independent spirit of its comments on public men. . . . The chief proprietor of the 'Times' was John Walter—a man who knew nothing or next to nothing of

newspaper work, but who knew precisely what the public wanted in a newspaper, and possessed, with this instinct and intelligence, the determination and enterprise which constitute the character of a successful man of business. He saw how a newspaper ought to be conducted, and he thought he saw how, by the development of a new idea in printing, he could produce the 'Times' a good deal cheaper than any of its contemporaries. The whole English language, according to Mr. Walter, consisted of about 80,000 words; but by separating the particles and omitting the obsolete words, technical terms, and common terminations, Mr. Walter believed it to be possible to reduce the stock in common use to about 50,000, and a large proportion of these words, with all the common terminations, he proposed to have cast separately, so that the compositor, with a slip of MS. before him to set in type, might pick up words or even phrases instead of picking up one by one every letter of every word in his copy, and thus, of course, save a good deal of time. The idea was impracticable, utterly impracticable, because the number of words required to carry out the system must in itself be so great that no case of type that a printer could stand before would hold them all, even if the printer 'learn his boxes' with a case of some 4,000 or 5,000 compartments before him; but it took a good many years, a good many experiments, and the expenditure of some thousands of pounds to convince Mr. Walter that the failure was not due to the perversity of his printers but to the practical difficulties which surrounded his conception. John Walter was far more successful in the general conduct of the 'Times' as a newspaper than he was in the management of the 'Times' printing office. He set all the printers in London by the ears with his whim about logographic printing. But he had a very clear conception of what a national newspaper ought to be, and with the assistance of a miscellaneous group of men, who, as they are sketched for us by Henry Crabb Robinson, were apparently far more picturesque than practical, John Walter made the 'Times' what the 'Times' has been for nearly a century, pre-eminently and distinctly a national newspaper. The 'Times,' in its original shape, consisted merely of the day's news, a few advertisements, some market quotations, perhaps a notice of a new book, a few scraps of gossip, and in the session, a Parliamentary report. The 'Morning Chronicle' had the credit . . . of inventing the leading article, as it had the credit of inventing Parliamentary reporting. The 'Morning Chronicle,' on the 12th of May, 1791, published a paragraph, announcing that 'the great and firm body of the Whigs of England, true to their principles, had decided on the dispute between Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, in favor of Mr. Fox, as the representative of the pure doctrines of Whiggery,' and that in consequence of this resolution Mr. Burke would retire from Parliament. It was very short, but this paragraph is the nearest approximation that is to be found in the newspapers of that time to a leading article, and appearing as it did in the part of the 'Morning Chronicle' where a year or two afterwards the leading articles were printed, Mr. Wingrove Cooke cites it as the germ of the leaders which, when they became general, gave a distinctive colour and authority to newspapers as indepen-

dent organs of opinion and criticism. The idea soon became popular; and in the 'Morning Post' and the 'Courier' the leading article, developed as it was by Coleridge and Macintosh into a work of art, often rivalling in argument, wit, and eloquence the best speeches in Parliament, became the object of quite as much interest as the Parliamentary reports themselves. The 'Times,' knowing how to appropriate one by one all the specialties of its contemporaries, and to improve upon what it appropriated, was one of the first newspapers to adopt the idea of leading articles, and in adopting that idea, to improve upon it by stamping its articles with a spirit of frankness and independence which was all its own. . . . The reign of John Walter, practically the founder of the 'Times,' ended in the year 1812, and upon his death his son, the second John Walter, took possession of Printing House Square, and, acting in the spirit of his father, with ampler means, soon made the 'Times' the power in the State that it has been from that day to this."—C. Pebody, *English Journalism*, pp. 92-99.

A. D. 1817.—The trials of William Hone. See ENGLAND: A. D. 1816-1820.

A. D. 1830-1833.—The first Penny Papers in the United States.—"The Penny Press of America dates from 1833. There were small and cheap papers published in Boston and Philadelphia before and about that time. The Bostonian was one. The Cent, in Philadelphia, was another. The latter was issued by Christopher C. Cornwall in 1830. These and all similar adventures were not permanent. Most of them were issued by printers when they had nothing else to do. Still they belonged to the class of cheap papers. The idea came from the Illustrated Penny Magazine, issued in London in 1830. . . . The Morning Post was the first penny paper of any pretensions in the United States. It was started on New-Year's Day, 1833, as a two-cent paper, by Dr. Horatio David Shepard, with Horace Greeley and Francis V. Story as partners, printers, and publishers. . . . After one week's trial, with the exhaustion of the capital, the original idea of Dr. Shepard, his dream of the previous year 1832 was attempted, and the price reduced to one cent; but it was too late. . . . This experiment, however, was the seed of the Cheap Press. It had taken root. On Tuesday, the 3d of September, in the same year 1833, the first number of the Sun was issued by Benjamin H. Day."—F. Hudson, *Journalism in the United States*, pp. 416-417.

A. D. 1853-1870.—Extinction of taxes on Newspapers in England.—The beginning of Penny Papers.—Rise of the provincial daily press.—"In 1853 the advertisement duty was repealed; in 1855 the obligatory newspaper stamp was abolished, and in 1861, with the repeal of the paper duty, the last check upon the unrestrained journalism was taken away. As a matter of course, the resulting increase in the number of newspapers has been very great as well as the resulting diminution in their price. . . . When it was seen that the trammels of journalism were about to be loosed the penny paper came into existence. The 'Daily Telegraph,' the first newspaper published at that price, was established in June, 1855, and is now one of the most successful of English journals."—T. G. Bowles, *Newspapers (Fortnightly Rev.*,

July 1, 1884).—"With the entire freedom from taxation began the modern era of the daily press. At this time [1861] London had nine or ten daily newspapers, with the 'Times' in the lead. Of these, six or seven still survive, and are holding their own with competitors of more recent origin. Up to the time of the abolition of the stamp duties, London was the only city which had a daily press; but between 1855 and 1870 a large number of newspapers published in the provincial cities, which had hitherto been issued in weekly or bi-weekly form, made their appearance as daily journals. With only one or two exceptions, all the prosperous provincial morning papers of to-day were originally weeklies, and as such had long occupied the ground they now hold as dailies."—E. Porritt, *The Englishman at Home*, ch. 13.

A. D. 1874-1894.—Surviving Press Censorship in Germany.—"It would be wrong to speak of the Newspaper Press of Germany as the fourth estate. In the land which gave Gutenberg and the art of printing to the world, the Press has not yet established a claim to a title so imposing. To the growth and power of a Free Press are needed liberal laws and institutions, with freedom of political opinion and civil action for the subject. Hitherto these fundamental conditions have been absent. During the last fifty years little has been done to liberate the newspaper, to give it free play, to un muzzle it. It is the misfortune of the German Press that the special laws for the regulation of newspapers and serial publications have been evolved from a system of legislation which was devised in times of great political unrest and agitation. . . . Liberty of the Press has been one of the leading political watchwords of the reform party during the last three-quarters of a century. Yet though the Press does not stand where it stood at the beginning of the century, when even visiting cards could not be printed without the solemn assent of the public censor, and when objectionable prints were summarily suppressed at the mere beck of a Minister or his subordinate, little ground has been won since the severer features of the measures passed in 1854 for the repression of democratic excesses were abandoned. The constitution of Prussia says that 'Every Prussian has the right to express his opinion freely by word, writing, print, or pictorial representation' (Article 27). But this right is superseded by the provision of the imperial constitution (Article 41, Section 16) which reserves to the Empire the regulation of the Press, and by a measure of May 7th, 1874, which gives to this provision concrete form. This is the Press Law of Germany to-day. The law does, indeed, concede, in principle at least, the freedom of the Press (*Pressfreiheit*), and it abolishes the formal censorship. But a severe form of control is still exercised by the police, whose authority over the Press is greater in reality than it seems to be from the letter of the statute. It is no longer necessary, as it once was, and still is in Russia, to obtain sanction for the issue of each number before it is sent into the world, but it is the legal duty of a publisher to lay a copy of his journal before the police authority directly it reaches the press. This an informal censor revises, and in the event of any article being obnoxious he may order the immediate confiscation of the whole issue, or a court of law, which in such matters works

very speedily, may do so for him. As the police and judicial authorities have wide discretion in the determination of editorial culpability, this power of confiscation is felt to be a harsh one. While the Socialist Law existed the powers of the police were far more extensive than now, and that they were also real is proved by the wholesale extermination of newspapers of Socialistic tendencies which took place between the years 1878 and 1890. Since that law disappeared, however, Socialist journals have sprung up again in abundance, though the experience gained by their conductors in the unhappy past does not enable them to steer clear of friction with the authorities. The police, too, regulates the public sale of newspapers and decides whether they shall be cried in the street or not. In Berlin special editions cannot be published without the prior sanction of this authority. . . . So frequent are prosecutions of editors that many newspapers are compelled to maintain on their staffs batches of *Sitzredakteure*, or 'sitting editors,' whose special function is to serve in prison (colloquially *sitzen*=sit) the terms of detention that may be awarded for the too liberal exercise of the critical faculty. . . . Some measure of the public depreciation of newspapers is due to the fact that they are largely in Hebrew hands. In the large towns the Press is, indeed, essentially a Jewish institution."—W. H. Dawson, *Germany and the Germans*, pt. 2, ch. 19 (v. 1).

American Periodicals founded before 1870 and existing in 1894.—The following is a carefully prepared chronological list of important newspapers and other periodicals, still published (1894) in the United States and Canada, which have existed for a quarter of a century or more, having been founded before 1870. The * before a title indicates that the information given has been obtained directly from the publisher. For some of the periodicals not so marked, the dates of beginning have been taken from their own files. In other cases, where publishers have neglected to answer a request for information, the facts have been borrowed from Rowell's *American Newspaper Directory*:

- 1764. *Connecticut Courant (Hartford), *w.*; added Courant, *d.*, 1886.
- *Quebec Gazette (French and English), *w.*; ran many years as *tri-w.*, in Eng.; discontinued for about 16 years; now resumed as Quebec Gazette in connection with Quebec Morning Chronicle (founded 1847).
- 1766 or 1767. *Connecticut Herald and Post Boy (New Haven); various names; now Connecticut Herald and Weekly Journal.
- 1768. *Essex Gazette; changes of name and place; suspended; revived at Salem, Mass., as Salem Mercury, 1786; became *semi-w.*, 1796; became Salem Daily Gazette, 1892.
- 1770. Worcester Spy, *w.*; added *d.*, 1845.
- 1771. *Pennsylvania Packet and General Advertiser (Philadelphia), *w.*; became Pennsylvania Packet and American Daily Advertiser, *d.*, 1794; consolidated with North American (founded 1839), 1839; consolidated with United States Gazette (established 1789, see 1789, Gazette of the U. S.), as North American and United States Gazette, 1847; became North American, 1876.

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1778. *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser; merged in Baltimore American, 1799.
1778. *Gazette (Montreal), *w.*; now *d.* and *w.*; since 1870 absorbed Telegraph and Daily News.
1785. *Falmouth (Me.) Gazette and Weekly Advertiser; Cumberland Gazette, 1786; Gazette of Maine, 1790; Eastern Herald, 1792; Eastern Herald and Gazette of Maine, 1796; Jenks' Portland Gazette, 1798; Portland Gazette and Maine Advertiser, 1805; Portland Advertiser, *semi-w.*, 1823; *d.*, 1831.
- *Journal (Poughkeepsie, N. Y.), established to take the place of New York Journal, published at Poughkeepsie, 1778-1783; consolidated with Eagle (founded 1828—see 1828, Dutchess Intelligencer), as Journal and Eagle; became Eagle after a few years.
1786. Hampshire Gazette (Northampton, Mass.).
1789. *Gazette of the United States (New York); removed to Philadelphia, 1790; *d.*, 1793, became The Union, or United States Gazette and True American; merged in North American, 1847.
- Berkshire County Eagle (Pittsfield, Mass.), *w.*
1793. Gazette (Cincinnati), *w.*; added *d.*, Commercial Gazette, 1841.
- Minerva (New York), *d.* and Herald, *semi-w.*; became Commercial Advertiser, and New York Spectator.
- Newburyport (Mass.) Herald.
- Utica Gazette, consolidated with Herald (founded 1847), as Morning Herald and Gazette.
1794. Rutland (Vt.) Herald.
1796. *Sentinel of Freedom (Newark), *w.*, added Newark Daily Advertiser, *d.*, 1832.
1800. *Salem Register, *w.*; then *semi-w.*; now *w.*
1801. New York Evening Post.
- Ægis and Gazette (Worcester), *w.*; added Evening Gazette, 1843.
1808. Charleston News and Courier.
- Portland (Me.) Eastern Argus.
1804. Pittsburgh Post.
1805. Missionary Herald (Boston), *m.*
- *Quebec Mercury, *tri-w.*; became *d.* about 1860.
1806. *Precursor (Montpelier), *w.*; became Vermont Watchman, 1807, *w.*
1807. *New Bedford (Mass.) Mercury, *w.*; added *d.*, 1831.
1808. *Cooperstown (N. Y.) Federalist; became Freeman's Journal, *w.*, 1820.
- Le Canadien (Montreal).
- St. Louis Republic, *w.*; added *d.*, 1835.
1809. *New Hampshire Patriot (Concord, N. H.); consolidated with People (founded 1868) as People and Patriot, 1878, *d.* and *w.*
- Montreal Herald.
1810. Kingston (Ont.) News, *w.*; added *d.*, 1851.
1811. *Buffalo Gazette, *w.*; became Niagara Patriot, *w.*, 1818; became Buffalo Patriot, *w.*, July 10, 1821; added Buffalo Commercial Advertiser, *d.*, 1835.
- Western Intelligencer, Western Intelligencer and Columbus Gazette, 1814; became Ohio State Journal, 1825; *d.*, 1839.
1812. *Columbian Weekly Register (New Haven); added Evening Register, *d.*, 1848.
1813. Albany Argus.
- Boston Advertiser.
- Acadian Recorder (Halifax)
1815. North American Review (New York), *m.*
1816. *Boston Recorder; merged in Congregationalist, *w.*, 1867.
- Knoxville Tribune, *w.*, added *d.*, 1865
- Rochester Union and Advertiser, *w.*; added *d.*, 1826.
1817. *Hartford Times, *w.*, added *d.*, 1841.
1819. *Cleveland Herald; consolidated with Evening News (founded 1868), 1885.
- See 1848, Cleveland Leader.
- Arkansas Gazette (Little Rock).
- *Oswego Palladium, *w.*, added *d.* about 1860.
1820. Nova Scotian (Halifax), *w.*, added Chronicle, 3 times a *w.*, 1845, added Morning Chronicle, 1865
- *Manufacturers' and Farmers' Journal (Providence), *semi-w.*, added Daily Journal, 1829
1821. *Christian Register (Boston), *w.*
- Indianapolis Sentinel.
- Mobile Register.
1822. Broome Republican (Binghamton, N. Y.), *w.*; added Republican, *d.*, 1849
- *Old Colony Memorial (Plymouth, Mass.), *w.*; has absorbed Plymouth Rock, and Old Colony Sentinel.
1823. Auburn (N. Y.) News and Democrat, *w.*; added Bulletin, *d.*, 1870.
- *Zion's Herald (Boston), *w.*
- *New Hampshire Statesman (Concord), *w.*, consolidated with Independent Democrat (founded 1845), as Independent Statesman, 1871, added *d.*, Concord Evening Monitor, 1864.
- *Western Censor and Emigrant's Guide (Indianapolis); became Indianapolis Journal, *w.*, and *semi-w.* during session of the Legislature, became *w.* and *d.*, 1850.
- *Observer (New York), *w.*
- *Register (New York), *w.*; became Examiner, 1855.
- Poughkeepsie News-Telegraph, *w.*; added News-Press, *d.*, 1852.
1824. *Springfield (Mass.) Republican, *w.*; added *d.*, 1844.
1825. Kennebec Journal, *w.*; added *d.*, 1870.
- *Rome (N. Y.) Republican, *w.*; became Telegram; became Sentinel, 1837; added *d.*, 1852-1860; added *d.*, 1881.
1826. Detroit Free Press, *w.*; added *d.*, 1835.
- *Lowell Courier, *w.*; added *d.*, 1845; *w.* now called Lowell Weekly Journal.
- *La Minerve (Montreal), *d.* and *w.*
- Christian Advocate (New York), *w.*
- Journal of the Franklin Institute (Phila.), *m.*
- *St. Lawrence Republican (Potsdam, N. Y.) *w.*; removed to Canton, N. Y., 1827; removed to Ogdensburg, 1830, and consolidated with St. Lawrence Gazette (founded 1815); purchased by Ogdensburg Journal (founded 1855), *d.*, 1858; both papers continue.

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- Rochester Democrat, consolidated with Chronicle (founded 1868) as Democrat and Chronicle
1827. * Youth's Companion (Boston), *w*
* Independent News Letter (Cleveland), became Advertiser, 1832, became Plain Dealer, 1842
Columbus (O) Press
New York Journal of Commerce
1828. * Orleans Republican (Albion, N Y), *w*
Burlington (Vt) Free Press, *w* added *d*, 1844
Montgomery (Ala) Advertiser
* Dutchess Intelligencer (Poughkeepsie, N Y), consolidated with Dutchess Republican, as Poughkeepsie Eagle, *w*, 1833, consolidated with Poughkeepsie Journal (see 1785, Journal), as Journal and Eagle, 1844, now Eagle, added *d* 1860
1829. * Auburn (N Y) Journal, *w*; added Daily Advertiser, 1844
* Northwestern Journal (Detroit), *w*, *semi w* then 3 times a *w*, 1835, became Daily Advertiser, 1836, consolidated with Tribune (founded 1849), as Advertiser and Tribune, 1862, consolidated with Daily Post (founded 1866), as Post and Tribune, 1877, became Tribune, 1885
* Elmira Gazette, *w*, added *d*, 1860
Philadelphia Inquirer
* Providence Daily Journal
* Syracuse Standard, successor to Onondaga Standard
1830. * Albany Evening Journal
* Boston Transcript
Louisville Journal, consolidated with Courier (founded 1843) and Democrat (founded 1844), under name of Louisville Courier Journal, 1868
* Evangelist (New York), *w*
* Sunday School Journal (Philadelphia), *w*, merged in Sunday School Times, 1859
1831. Orleans American (Albion, N. Y.), *w*
* Boston Daily Post
Presbyterian (Philadelphia), *w*.
Illinois State Journal (Springfield), *w*, added *d*, 1848
1832. * Patriot (Montpelier, Vt); consolidated with Argus (founded 1851, Bellows Falls), as Argus and Patriot, *w*, 1862
* Herald (New Haven), *d*; various names, became Journal and Courier, 1849.
Morning Journal and Courier (New Haven).
1833. * Catholic Intelligencer (Boston), *w*; successor to Jesuit, became Pilot, 1836
* Boston Mercantile Journal; now Boston Journal
* The Sun (New York)
1834. Bangor Whig and Courier.
* Western Christian Advocate (Cincinnati), *w*.
* British Whig (Kingston, Ont.), *d*, 1849.
* New Yorker Staats Zeitung, *w*; added *d*, 1845
Anzeiger des Westens (St. Louis).
* New York Herald.
1835. Schenectady Reflector, *w*; added Evening Star, 1855.
Troy Morning Telegram.

1836. * Miner's Express, *w*; merged in Dubuque Herald (founded 1859), now *d*, and *w*
* Public Ledger and Daily Transcript (Philadelphia)
* Illinois State Register (Vandalia), *w*; absorbed People's Advocate, 1836, removed to Springfield, 1839, absorbed Illinois Republican, 1839, added *d*, 1848
* Toledo Blade, *w*, added *d*, 1848.
* Sun (Baltimore), *d* and *w*
1837. Buffalo Demokrat und Weltbürger
Burlington (Ia) Gazette
* Cincinnati Times, *d* and *w*, *d* consolidated with Star (founded 1872), *d* and *w*, as Cincinnati Times-Star, 1880
Southern Christian Advocate (Columbia, S C) *w*
Jackson (Miss) Clarion, *w*
* Milwaukee Sentinel, *w*, absorbed Gazette and became Sentinel-Gazette, 1846, dropped "Gazette," 1851, *d* 1844
* New Orleans Picayune
1838. Bangor Commercial
* Philadelphia Demokrat
* St Louis Evening Gazette, became Evening Mirror 1847, became New Era, 1848, became Intelligencer, 1849, became Evening News, 1857, consolidated with Dispatch, 1867 consolidated with Evening Post, as Post Dispatch, 1878
1839. * Iowa Patriot (Burlington), *w*, became Hawkeye and Iowa Patriot, has been, at various times, *semi w*, and *d*, now Burlington Hawkeye *d* and *w*
* Christie's Apologete (Cincinnati), *w*
* Madison Express, *w*, became Wisconsin Express, 1848, *d*, 1851, consolidated with a new paper, Statesman, as Palladium, *d* and *w*, 1852, became Wisconsin State Journal, 1852
Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register (New York), *w*
* North American (Philadelphia), absorbed Pennsylvania Packet (see 1771, Pennsylvania Packet), 1839
Western State Journal (Syracuse), *w*, became Syracuse Journal, 1844; added *d*, 1846, absorbed Evening Chronicle, 1856, added *semi-w*, 1893
1840. Chicago Tribune
* Appeal (Memphis); consolidated with Avalanche (founded 1857), as Appeal-Avalanche, 1890 (?), consolidated with Commercial (founded 1839), as Commercial Appeal, 1894.
* Union and Evangelist (Uniontown, Penn), became Evangelist and Observer at Pittsburgh, succeeded by Cumberland Presbyterian, about 1846, at Uniontown, removed to Brownsville; then to Waynesburg; to Alton, Ill., in 1868; and to Nashville, Tenn., in 1874; here consolidated with Banner of Peace (founded, Princeton, Ky., 1840; removed to Lebanon, Tenn., 1843; then to Nashville).
* Roman Citizen, *w*; became Rome Semi-Weekly Citizen, 1898.
1841. * Brooklyn Eagle.
* Prairie Farmer (Chicago), *w*.
* New York Tribune.

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- 1842 * Pittsburgh Chronicle, consolidated with Pittsburgh Telegraph (founded 1873), as Pittsburgh Chronicle Telegraph, 1884.
Reading Eagle, *w*, added *d*, 1868
* Daily Mercantile Courier and Democratic Economist (Buffalo), became Daily Courier and Economist 1843, became Buffalo Courier, *d*, 1845
* Cincinnati Enquirer, *d* and *semi w*
* Galveston News
Rural New Yorker (New York) *w*
* Preacher (Pittsburgh), *w*, became United Presbyterian 1854
1843 * Albany Daily Knickerbocker, consolidated with Press (founded 1877) as Daily Press and Knickerbocker, 1877
* Steuben Courier (Bath, N Y)
1844. Chicago Evening Journal
* Woelhlentlicher Seebote (Milwaukee), became Der Seebote, *d* and *w*
* American Baptist (New York), became Baptist Weekly, has absorbed Gospel Age became Christian Inquirer, *w*, 1888
* Churchman (New York) *w*
* New Yorker Demokrat New Yorker Journal 1863, consolidated as New Yorker Zeitung, 1878
Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature (New York) *m*
Ledger (New York), *w*
Oswego Times
* Globe (Toronto)
1845 * Binghamton Democrat, *w*; added *d*, 1864
* Buffalo Morning Express
* Independent Democrat (Concord, N H) See 1823, N H Statesman
Montreal Witness, *w*, added *d*, 1860
Scientific American (New York), *w*
* St Joseph (Mo) Gazette, *d* and *w*
1846 * Boston Herald, *d* and *w*
* Evening News (Hamilton, Ont), *d* and *w*, successor to Journal and Express, *semi w*, became Banner and Railway Chronicle, 1852 or 1853, became Evening Times, 1858
* Hamilton (Ont) Spectator, *semi-w*, added *d*, 1852
Keokuk (Ia) Gate City
* Bankers' Magazine (New York), *m*
* Newport (R I) Daily News
Pittsburgh Dispatch
1847. * Albany Morning Express
New England Historical and Genealogical Register (Boston), quarterly
Boston Traveller
Illinois Staats Zeitung (Chicago)
* Lewiston (Me) Weekly Journal, added Evening Journal, 1861
London (Ont) Free Press, *w*, added *d*, 1859.
* Evening Wisconsin (Milwaukee)
Iron Age (New York), *w*
Toledo Commercial.
Utica Morning Herald, consolidated with Gazette (founded 1793), as Morning Herald and Gazette.
1848. * Massachusetts Teacher, afterwards, with College Courant (founded 1863, New Haven), Rhode Island Schoolmaster (founded 1835), and Connecticut School Journal, formed Journal of Education (founded 1875, Boston).

- * Williamsburg Times, became Brooklyn Daily Times, 1854
* Cleveland Leader, *d*, added, by purchase, Evening News (founded 1868), 1869, purchased Cleveland Herald (founded 1819) and consolidated it with Evening News, as News and Herald, 1887
Des Moines Leader
* Independent (New York), *w*
1849 * Congregationalist (Boston), *w*, absorbed Boston Recorder (founded 1816), 1867
* Detroit Tribune, consolidated with Post, 1877 See 1829, Northwestern Journal
* Irish American (New York), *w*
* Water Cure Journal (New York), became Herald of Health, 1863 became Journal of Hygiene and Herald of Health, *m* 1893
* St Paul Pioneer, *w*, *d*, 1854, consolidated with St Paul Press (founded 1860) *d*, as Pioneer Press 1875
Wilkesbarre Leader *w*, added *d*, 1879
1850 * Buffalo Christian Advocate, *w*
Kansas City (Mo) Times
Mirror and American (Manchester, N H)
Harper's New Monthly Magazine (New York)
* Oregonian (Portland), *w*, added *d*, 1861.
Richmond Dispatch
* Desert News (Salt Lake City), *w*; added *semi w*, 1865 added *d*, 1867
* Morning News (Savannah, Ga), *d* and *w*, absorbed Savannah Republican (founded 1802), and Savannah Daily Advertiser (founded 1866), 1874
* Watertown (N Y) Weekly Reformer; added Daily Times 1860
1851 La Crosse Morning Chronicle
* Union Democrat (Manchester, N H), *w*; added Manchester Union, *d*, 1863
* Argus (Bellows Falls) consolidated with Patriot at Montpelier, under name of Argus and Patriot, *w* 1862
* New York Times, *d* and *w*
* Rochester Beobachter, *w*, 3 times a week 1855, *d*, 1863 consolidated with Abendpost (founded 1890) as Rochester Abendpost und Beobachter, *d* and *w*, 1881
St Joseph (Mo) Herald
* Troy (N Y) Times, *d*
1852 Wächter am Erie (Cleveland)
St Louis Globe Democrat
Wheeling Intelligencer (Wheeling, West Virginia)
1853 Elmira Advertiser
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly (New York)
Richmond Anzeiger
San Francisco Evening Post.
Toledo Express
Washington Evening Star
* Record of the Times (Wilkesbarre), *w*; added Wilkesbarre Record, *d*, 1873
1854. * Deutsche Zeitung (Charleston, S C), *semi w* and *w*, suspended during four years of Civil War.
Chicago Times, *d* and *w*
* American Israelite (Cincinnati), *w*.
* Kansas City (Mo.) Journal, *w*; added *d*, 1864.

PRINTING AND PRESS.

*American
Periodicals.*

PRINTING AND PRESS.

- La Crosse Republican and Leader.
Herold (Milwaukee).
* Nebraska City News.
* Anzeiger des Nordens (Rochester); be-
came Rochester Volksblatt, *w.*, 1859,
added *d.*, 1863
1855. * Ogdensburg Journal, *d.*, purchased St
Lawrence Republican (founded 1826),
w., 1858
1856. * Albany Times; absorbed Evening
Courier, 1861, consolidated with Even-
ing Union (founded 1882), as Albany
Times Union, *d* and *w*, 1891
* Buffalo Allgemeine Zeitung, *w*, suc-
ceeded by Buffalo Freie Presse, *d* 3
months, then *semi w*, *d*, 1872
* Iowa State Register (Des Moines), *w*,
added *d.*, 1861
Dubuque Times
* Western Railroad Gazette (Chicago), *w*,
became Railroad Gazette, removed to
New York, 1871
San Francisco Call
* Scranton Republican, *w*, added *d.*, 1867
1857. Baltimore News
Atlantic Monthly (Boston)
* Banner of Light (Boston), *w*
Leavenworth Times
New Haven Union
Harper's Weekly (New York)
* Jewish Messenger (New York), *w*
* Scottish American (New York), *w*
Philadelphia Press
Courrier du Canada (Quebec)
Westliche Post (St. Louis)
Syracuse Courier
1858. Hartford Evening Post, Connecticut
Post, *w*
Nebraska Press (Nebraska City), *d* and *w*
Rochester Post Express
1859. * Boston Commercial Bulletin, *w*
* Rocky Mountain News (Denver), *w*,
added *d.*, 1860
Kansas City (Mo.) Post (German)
* Sunday School Times (Philadelphia),
w., succeeded Sunday School Journal
(founded 1830), absorbed Sunday School
Workman (founded 1870), 1871, ab-
sorbed National Sunday School Teacher
(founded 1866), 1882
St. John (New Brunswick) Globe.
1860. World (New York)
1861. Commonwealth (Boston), *w*.
1862. * New Yorker Journal See 1844, New
Yorker Demokrat
* Maine State Press (Portland), *w.*; Port-
land Press, *d*
Raleigh News and Observer
St. John (New Brunswick) Telegraph, *w.*;
added *d.*, 1869
1863. * Brooklyn Daily Union; consolidated
with Brooklyn Daily Standard (founded
1884), as Brooklyn Standard Union,
1897.
London (Ont.) Advertiser.
* New Orleans Times; consolidated with
Democrat (founded 1876), as New Or-
leans Times-Democrat, 1891, all *d.* and *w*.
Army and Navy Journal (New York), *w*.
Portland (Oregon) Evening Telegram.
Providence Evening Bulletin.
* Sioux City Journal, *w.*: added *d.*, 1870.
* Wheeling Register.

1864. * Concord (N. H.) Evening Monitor, *d.*;
issued in connection with Independent
Statesman (see 1823, N. H. Statesman).
Reading Post (Ger.), *w*, added *d.*, 1867.
* Springfield (Mass.) Union
1865. Albany Evening Post
* Skandinavien (Chicago), *w*, *d*, 1871.
Halifax Morning Chronicle
Florida Times Union (Jacksonville)
Memphis Public Ledger
* Catholic World (New York City), *m*
* Commercial and Financial Chronicle
(New York), *w*, absorbed Hunt's Mer-
chants' Magazine, 1870
Nation (New York), *w*
Norfolk Virginian
* Daily Herald (Omaha, Neb.), consoli-
dated with Evening World (founded
1885), as World Herald, 1889
* Index (Petersburg, Va.), consolidated
with Appeal (successor to Express,
founded in 1848), as Index Appeal, 1873
Philadelphia Abend Post
San Antonio Express
* San Francisco Chronicle
* Union (Schenectady), *d.*, and *w*
1866. * Denver Tribune, consolidated with Den-
ver Republican (founded 1878), under
name of Tribune Republican, 1884, be-
came Denver Republican, *d* and *w*
* Christian at Work (New York), *w*, be-
came Christian Work, 1894, has ab-
sorbed The Continent, The Manhattan
Magazine, Every Thursday, and others
Engineering and Mining Journal (New
York) *w*
Sanitarian (New York), *m*
1867. * Advance (Chicago) *w*
* Evening Journal (Jersey City)
* Nebraska Commonwealth (Lincoln), *w*;
became Nebraska State Journal, *w*,
1869, added *d.*, 1870
* Democrat (Madison, Wis.), *d* and *w*
Minneapolis Tribune
* Le Monde (Montreal)
Engineering News (New York), *w*
Harper's Bazaar (New York), *w*
American Naturalist (Phila.), *m*
* L'Evenement (Quebec)
* Seattle Intelligencer, *w*, *d*, 1876; con-
solidated with Post (founded 1878), *d.*,
under name of Post Intelligencer, 1881.
Vicksburg Commercial Herald, *w.*; added
d., 1869
Wilmington (N. C.) Messenger.
* Morning Star (Wilmington, N. C.).
1868. Atlanta Constitution
* Buffalo Volksfreund, *d.* and *w*.
* People (Concord, N. H.) See 1809, New
Hampshire Patriot
Lippincott's Magazine (Phila.), *m*.
* St. Paul Dispatch.
* San Diego Union, *w.*; added *d.*, 1871.
Troy Press
1869. * Evening Star (Montreal); became Mon-
treal Evening Star, then Montreal Daily
Star; added Family Herald and Weekly
Star, *w*.
* Christian Union (New York), *w.*; be-
came The Outlook, 1892.
Manufacturer and Builder (New York), *m*.
* Ottawa Free Press, *d.* and *w*.
Scranton Times, *d.* and *w*.

PRIOR.

PRIOR.—PRIORY. See MONASTERY.

PRIORIES, Alien.—"These were cells of foreign abbey, founded upon estates which English proprietors had given to the foreign houses"—E. L. Cutts, *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, ch. 4.

PRIORS OF THE FLORENTINE GUILDS. See FLORENCE A. D. 1250-1283

PRISAGE. See TUNNAGE AND POUNDAGE

PRISON-SHIPS, British, at New York. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1776-1777

PRISONERS AND EXCHANGES

PRISONS AND PRISON-PENS, Confederate.—Libby.—Belle Isle.—Andersonville.

—"The Libby, which is best known, though also used as a place of confinement for private soldiers, is generally understood to be the officers' prison. It is a row of brick buildings, three stories high, situated on the canal [in Richmond, Va.], and overlooking the James river, and was formerly a tobacco warehouse. The rooms are 100 feet long by 40 feet broad. In six of these rooms, 1,200 United States officers, of all grades, from the Brigadier General to the Second-Lieutenant, were confined for many months, and this was all the space that was allowed them in which to cook, eat, wash, sleep, and take exercise. Ten feet by two were all that could be claimed by each man. Their blankets, which averaged one to a man, and sometimes less, had not been issued by the rebels but had been procured in different ways, sometimes by purchase, sometimes through the Sanitary Commission. . . . The prison did not seem to be under any general and uniform army regulations, but the captives were subject to the caprices of Major Turner, the officer in charge and Richard Turner, inspector of the prison. It was among the rules that no one should go within three feet of the windows, a rule which seems to be general in all Southern prisons of this character. Often by accident, or unconsciously, an officer would go near a window and be instantly shot at without warning. The daily ration in the officers' quarter of Libby Prison was a small loaf of bread about the size of a man's fist, made of Indian meal. Sometimes it was made from wheat flour, but of variable quality. It weighed a little over half a pound. With it was given a piece of beef weighing two ounces. Belle Isle [where private soldiers were confined] is a small island in the James river opposite the Tredegar Iron-works, and in full sight from the Libby windows. The portion on which the prisoners are confined is low, sandy, and barren, without a tree to cast a shadow, and poured upon by the burning rays of a Southern sun. Here is an enclosure, variously estimated to be from three to six acres in extent, surrounded by an earthen wall about three feet high, with a ditch on either side. . . . The interior has something of the look of an encampment, a number of Sibbey tents being set in rows, with 'streets' between. These tents, rotten, torn, full of holes, —poor shelter at any rate,—accommodated only a small proportion of the number who were confined within these low earth walls. The number varied at different periods, but from 10,000 to 12,000 men have been imprisoned in this small space at one time, turned into the enclosure like so many cattle, to find what resting place they could. . . . Thousands had no tents, and no shelter of any kind. . . . They were fed as the

PRISONS AND PRISON-PENS

swine are fed. A chunk of corn-bread, 12 or 14 ounces in weight, half-baked, full of cracks as if baked in the sun, musty in taste, containing whole grains of corn, fragments of cob, and pieces of husks; meat often tainted, suspiciously like mule-meat, and a mere mouthful at that; two or three spoonfuls of rotten beans; soup thin and briny, often with worms floating on the surface. None of these were given together, and the whole ration was never one half the quantity necessary for the support of a healthy man"—V. Mott, and others, *Report of U. S. Sanitary Commission Com. of Inquiry on the Sufferings of Prisoners of War in the hands of the Rebel Authorities*, ch. 2-3.—The little hamlet of Anderson, so named, in 1853, after John W. Anderson, of Savannah, but called Andersonville by the Post Office Department, is situated in the heart of the richest portion of the cotton and corn-growing region of Georgia, on the Southwestern Railroad, 62 miles south from Macon and 9 miles north of Americus. Here, on the 27th day of November, 1863 W. S. Winder, a captain in the rebel army, and who was selected for the purpose came and located the grounds, for a 'Confederate States Military Prison.' . . . When the site was definitely established, it was found to be covered with a thick growth of pines and oaks. The trees were leveled to the ground, and the space was cleared. No buildings, barracks, houses or huts of any kind were built. The canopy of the sky was the only covering. In March, 1864, John H. Winder, father of the W. S. Winder mentioned above, became commandant of the post, and with him came Henry Witz, as superintendent of the prison. "From Colonel Chandler's Inspection Report [the report of a Confederate official] dated August 5th, 1864, I quote the following: 'A railing around the inside of the stockade, and about 20 feet from it, constitutes the 'dead line,' beyond which prisoners are not allowed to pass. A small stream passes from west to east through the inclosure, about 150 yards from its southern limit, and furnishes the only water for washing accessible to the prisoners. Bordering this stream, about three quarters of an acre in the centre of the inclosure are so marshy as to be at present unfit for occupation, reducing the available present area to about 23½ acres, which gives somewhat less than six square feet to each prisoner'; and, he remarks, 'even this is being constantly reduced by the additions to their number.' . . . Dr. Joseph Jones, Professor of Chemistry in the Medical College of Georgia, . . . went to Andersonville under the direction of the surgeon general of the Confederacy, pursuant to an order dated Richmond, Virginia, August 6th, 1864. . . . Dr. Jones proceeds to give a table illustrating the mean strength of prisoners confined in the stockade. . . . His table . . . shows the following as the mean result: March, 7,500; April, 10,000; May, 15,000; June, 22,291; July, 29,030; August, 32,899. He says: 'Within the circumscribed area of the stockade the Federal prisoners were compelled to perform all the offices of life, cooking, washing, urinating, defecation, exercise, and sleeping.' . . . 'The low grounds bordering the stream were covered with human excrement and filth of all kinds, which in many cases appeared to be alive with working maggots. An indescribable sickening stench arose from the fermenting mass of human dung and filth.' And

again: 'There were nearly 5,000 seriously-ill Federals in the stockade and Confederate States Military Prison Hospital, and the deaths exceeded 100 per day. . . . I visited 2,000 sick within the stockade, lying under some long sheds which they had built at the northern portion for themselves. At this time only one medical officer was in attendance.' At the close of the war, Wirz was tried before a military commission, over which General Lew. Wallace presided, was condemned, and was hanged at Andersonville, November 10, 1865. — A. Spencer, *Narrative of Andersonville*, ch. 1, 4, 5, 13, 15. — On the part of the Confederate authorities, Gen. Robert E. Lee, writing to Dr. Carter, of Philadelphia, April 17, 1867, said: "Sufficient information has been officially published, I think, to show that whatever sufferings the Federal prisoners at the South underwent were incident to their position as prisoners, and produced by the destitute condition of the country, arising from the operations of war. The laws of the Confederate Congress and the orders of the War Department directed that the rations furnished prisoners of war should be the same in quantity and quality as those furnished enlisted men in the army of the Confederacy, and that the hospitals for prisoners should be placed on the same footing as other Confederate States hospitals in all respects. It was the desire of the Confederate authorities to effect a continuous and speedy exchange of prisoners of war; for it was their true policy to do so, as their retention was not only a calamity to them, but a heavy expenditure of their scanty means of subsistence, and a privation of the services of a veteran army." — *Southern Hist. Soc. Papers*, v. 1, p. 122. — In his book on "The War between the States," Alexander H. Stephens wrote as follows: "Large numbers of them [Federal prisoners] were taken to Southwestern Georgia in 1864, because it was a section most remote and secure from the invading Federal armies, and because, too, it was a country of all others then within the Confederate limits not thus threatened with an invasion, most abundant with food, and all resources at command for the health and comfort of prisoners. They were put in one stockade for the want of men to guard more than one. The section of country, moreover, was not regarded as more unhealthy, or more subject to malarious influences than any in the central part of the State. The official order for the erection of the stockade enjoined that it should be in 'a healthy locality, plenty of pure water, a running stream, and, if possible, shade trees, and in the immediate neighborhood of grist and saw mills.' The very selection of the locality, so far from being, as you suppose, made with cruel designs against the prisoners, was governed by the most humane considerations. Your question might, with much more point, be retorted by asking, Why were Southern prisoners taken in the dead of winter with their thin clothing to Camp Douglas, Rock Island, and Johnson's Island — icy regions of the North — where it is a notorious fact that many of them actually froze to death? As far as mortuary returns afford evidence of the general treatment of prisoners on both sides, the figures show nothing to the disadvantage of the Confederates, notwithstanding their limited supplies of all kinds, and notwithstanding all that has been said of the horrible sacrifice of life at Anderson-

ville. It now appears that a larger number of Confederates died in Northern, than of Federals in Southern prisons, or stockades. The report of Mr. Stanton, as Secretary of War, on the 19th of July, 1866, exhibits the fact that, of the Federal prisoners in Confederate hands during the war, only 22,576 died; while of the Confederate prisoners in Federal hands 26,436 died." — Alex. H. Stephens, *The War between the States*, v. 2, col. 22. — These statistics differ seriously from the following. "There can be no accurate count of the mortality in rebel prisons. The report made by the War Department to the 40th Congress shows that about 188,000 Union soldiers were captured by the Confederates; that half of them were paroled, and half confined in prison; of this number 36,000 died in captivity. The Union armies, on the other hand, captured 476,000 Confederates; of these 227,000 were retained as prisoners, and 30,000 died. While the percentage of mortality in Northern prisons was 13 in the hundred, that in rebel prisons was 38." — J. G. Nicolay and J. Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, v. 7, ch. 16. — *Rept. of Special Com. on Treatment of Prisoners* (H. R. Rept. No. 45, 40th Cong., 3d Sess.). — *Trial of Henry Wirz*. — *Southern Hist. Soc. Papers*, v. 1.

ALSO IN: J. McElroy, *Andersonville*. — F. F. Cavada, *Libby Life*. — A. B. Isham, H. M. Davidson and H. B. Furness, *Prisoners of War and Military Prisons*.

PRIVATE WARFARE, The Right of. See LANDRIEDE.

PRIVATEERING, American, in the War of 1812. — "The war [of 1812-14] lasted about three years, and the result was, as near as I have been able to ascertain, a loss to Great Britain of about 2,000 ships and vessels of every description, including men-of-war and merchantmen. . . . I have found it difficult to ascertain the exact number of our own vessels taken and destroyed by the English; but, from the best information I can obtain, I should judge they would not amount to more than 500 sail. It must be recollected that the most of our losses occurred during the first six months of the war. After that period, we had very few vessels afloat, except privateers and letters-of-marque." — G. Coggeshall, *Hist. of Am. Privateers, 1812-14*, pp. 394-395.

PRIVATEERS. — LETTERS OF MARQUE. — "Until lately all maritime states have . . . been in the habit of using privateers, which are vessels belonging to private owners, and sailing under a commission of war [such commissions being denominated letters of marque and reprisal] empowering the persons to whom it is granted to carry on all forms of hostility which are permissible at sea by the usages of war. . . . Universally as privateers were formerly employed, the right to use them has now almost disappeared from the world. It formed part of the Declaration adopted at the Congress of Paris in 1856 with reference to Maritime Law that 'privateering is and remains abolished'; and all civilized states have since become signatories of the Declaration, except the United States, Spain, and Mexico. For the future privateers can only be employed by signatories of the Declaration of Paris during war with one of the last-mentioned states." — W. E. Hall, *Treatise on International Law*, pt. 8, ch. 7, sect. 189. — "There is a distinction between a privateer and

a letter of marque in this, that the former are always equipped for the sole purpose of war, while the latter may be a merchantman, uniting the purposes of commerce to those of capture. In popular language, however, all private vessels commissioned for hostile purposes, upon the enemy's property, are called letters of marque"—F. H. Upton, *The Law of Nations affecting Commerce during War*, p. 186.—See, also, DECLARATION OF PARIS.

PRIVILEGE OF UNION AND GENERAL PRIVILEGE OF ARAGON. See CORTES, THE EARLY SPANISH.

PRIVILEGIUM MAJUS, THE. See AUSTRIA: A. D. 1330-1384.

PRIVY COUNCIL, THE.—"It was in the reign of Henry VI that the King's Council first assumed the name of the 'Privy Council,' and it was also during the minority of this King that a select Council was gradually emerging from out of the larger body of the Privy Council, which ultimately resulted in the institution of our modern Cabinet [see CABINET, THE ENGLISH]. From the accession of Henry VII. to the reign of Charles I. the Privy Council was wholly subservient to the royal will, and the instrument of unconstitutional and arbitrary proceedings. The first act of the Long Parliament was to deprive the Council of most of its judicial power, leaving, however, its constitution and political functions unchanged. Since the Revolution of 1688 the Privy Council has dwindled into comparative insignificance, when contrasted with its original authoritative position. Its judicial functions are now restrained within very narrow limits. The only relic of its ancient authority in criminal matters is its power of taking examinations, and issuing commitments for treason. It still, however, continues to exercise an original jurisdiction in advising the Crown concerning the grant of charters, and it has exclusively assumed the appellate jurisdiction over the colonies and dependencies of the Crown, which formerly appertained to the Council in Parliament. Theoretically, the Privy Council still retains its ancient supremacy, and in a constitutional point of view is presumed to be the only legal and responsible Council of the Crown."

As her Majesty can only act through her privy councillors, or upon their advice, all the higher and more formal acts of administration must proceed from the authority of the Sovereign in Council, and their performance be directed by orders issued by the Sovereign at a meeting of the Privy Council specially convened for that purpose. No rule can be laid down defining those political acts of the Crown which may be performed upon the advice of particular ministers, or those which must be exercised only 'in Council'—the distinction depends partly on usage and partly on the wording of Acts of Parliament. . . . The ancient functions of the Privy Council are now performed by committees, excepting those formal measures which proceed from the authority of her Majesty in Council. The acts of these committees are designated as those of the Lords of the Council. These Lords of Council (who are usually selected by the Lord President of the Council, of whom more hereafter) constitute a high court of record for the investigation of all offences against the Government, and of such other extraordinary matters as may be brought before them. . . . If the mat-

ter be one properly cognisable by a legal tribunal, it is referred to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. This committee, which is composed of the Lord President, the Lord Chancellor, and such members of the Privy Council as from time to time hold certain high judicial offices, has jurisdiction in appeals from all colonial courts: it is also the supreme court of maritime jurisdiction, and the tribunal wherein the Crown exercises its judicial supremacy in ecclesiastical cases. The Privy Council has also to direct local authorities throughout the kingdom in matters affecting the preservation of the public health. A committee of the Privy Council is also appointed to provide 'for the general management and superintendence of Education,' and subject to this committee is the Science and Art Department for the United Kingdom. . . . Formerly meetings of the Council were frequently held, but they now seldom occur oftener than once in three or four weeks, and are always convened to assemble at the royal residence for the time being. The attendance of seven Privy Councillors used to be regarded as the quorum necessary to constitute a Council for ordinary purposes of state, but this number has been diminished frequently to only three. No Privy Councillor presumes to attend upon any meeting of the Privy Council unless specially summoned. The last time the whole Council was convoked was in 1839. Privy Councillors are appointed absolutely, without patent or grant, at the discretion of the Sovereign. Their number is unlimited. . . . Since the separate existence of the Cabinet Council, meetings of the Privy Council for purposes of deliberation have ceased to be held. The Privy Council consists ordinarily of the members of the Royal Family, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London, all the Cabinet Ministers, the Lord Chancellor, the chief officers of the Royal Household, the Judges of the Courts of Equity, the Chief Justices of the Courts of Common Law, and some of the Puisne Judges, the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Judges and the Judge-Advocate, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Ambassadors and the Chief Ministers Plenipotentiary, the Governors of the chief colonies, the Commander-in-Chief, the Vice-President of the Committee of Council for Education, certain other officials. I need not particularise, and occasionally a Junior Lord of the Admiralty, though it is not usual for Under Secretaries of State or Junior Lords of the Treasury or Admiralty to have this rank conferred upon them. A seat in the Privy Council is sometimes given to persons retiring from the public service, who have filled responsible situations under the Crown, as an honorary distinction. A Privy Councillor is styled Right Honourable, and he takes precedence of all baronets, knights, and younger sons of viscounts and barons"—A. C. Ewald, *The Crown and its Advisers*, lect. 2.

ALSO IN: A. V. Dicey, *The Privy Council*.

PROBULI, THE.—A board of ten provisional councillors, instituted at Athens during the later period of the Peloponnesian War, after the great calamity at Syracuse. It was intended to introduce a conservative agency into the too democratic constitution of the state; to be "a board composed of men of mature age, who should examine all proposals and motions, after which

only such among the latter as this board had sanctioned and approved should come before the citizens. This new board was, at the same time, in urgent cases itself to propose the necessary measures."—E. Curtius, *Hist. of Greece*, bk. 4, ch. 5.—See **ATHENS**. B. C. 413-411.

PROBUS, Roman Emperor, A. D. 270-282

PROBUS, Wall of. See **GERMANY**: A. D. 277

PROCESSION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT, Controversy on. See **FILIOQUE CONTROVERSY**

PROCONSUL AND PROPRAETOR, Roman.—"If a Consul was pursuing his operations ever so successfully, he was liable to be superseded at the year's close by his successor in the Consulship; and this successor brought with him new soldiers and new officers; everything, it would seem, had to be done over again. This was always felt in times of difficulty, and the constitutional usages were practically suspended. . . . In the year 328 B. C. the Senate first assumed the power of decreeing that a Consul or Praetor might be continued in his command for several successive years, with the title of Proconsul, or Propraetor, the power of these officers being, within their own district, equal to the power of the Consul or Praetor himself. The Proconsul also was allowed to keep part of his old army, and would of course continue his Tribunes and Centurions in office. . . . Almost all the great successes of Marcellus and Scipio were gained in Proconsular commands."—H. G. Liddell, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 4, ch. 35.

PROCURATOR.—PROCTOR. See **ROME**: B. C. 31-A. D. 14

PROFIT-SHARING EXPERIMENTS. See **SOCIAL MOVEMENTS**: A. D. 1842-1889, and 1859-1887

PROHIBITIONISTS. See **TEMPERANCE**

PROMANTY, The Right of. See **GREECE**: B. C. 449-445

PROPAGANDA, The College of the. See **PAPACY**. A. D. 1622

PROPHESYINGS.—In the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, among those English reformers who were subsequently known as Puritans, "the clergy in several dioceses set up, with encouragement from their superiors, a certain religious exercise, called prophesyings. They met at appointed times to expound and discuss together particular texts of Scripture, under the presidency of a moderator appointed by the bishop, who finished by repeating the substance of their debate, with his own determination upon it. These discussions were in public, and it was contended that this sifting of the grounds of their faith, and habitual argumentation, would both tend to edify the people, very little acquainted as yet with their religion, and supply in some degree the deficiencies of learning among the pastors themselves." The prophesyings, however, were suppressed by the queen and Archbishop Parker.

—H. Hallam, *Const. Hist. of Eng.*, ch. 4 (v. 1).

Also in: J. B. Marsden, *Hist. of the Early Puritans*, ch. 4, sect. 7-25.

PROPHETS, The Hebrew.—"The Hebrew word 'Nabi' is derived from the verb 'naba,' . . . The root of the verb is said to be a word signifying 'to boil or bubble over,' and is thus taken from the metaphor of a fountain bursting forth from the heart of man, into which God has poured it. Its actual meaning is 'to pour forth excited utterances,' as appears from its occa-

sional use in the sense of 'raving.' Even to this day, in the East, the ideas of prophet and madman are closely connected. The religious sense, in which, with these exceptions, the word is always employed, is that of 'speaking,' or 'singing under a divine afflatus or impulse,' to which the peculiar form of the word, as just observed, lends itself. . . . It is this word that the Seventy translated by a Greek term not of frequent usage in classical authors, but which, through their adoption of it, has passed into all modern European languages, namely, the word . . . Prophet. . . . The English words 'prophet,' 'prophecy,' 'prophesying,' originally kept tolerably close to the Biblical use of the word. The celebrated dispute about 'prophesyings,' in the sense of 'preachings,' in the reign of Elizabeth, and the treatise of Jeremy Taylor on 'The Liberty of Prophesying,' i. e. the liberty of preaching, show that even down to the seventeenth century the word was still used, as in the Bible, for 'preaching,' or 'speaking according to the will of God.' In the seventeenth century, however, the limitation of the word to the sense of 'prediction' had gradually begun to appear. . . . The Prophet then was 'the messenger or interpreter of the Divine will'."—Dean Stanley, *Lect. on the Hist. of the Jewish Church*, lect. 19 (v. 1).

PROPHETS, Schools of the. See **EDUCATION**, ANCIENT, JUDÆA.

PROPONTIS, The.—The small sea which intervenes between the Pontus Euxinus (Black Sea) and the Ægean. So called by the Greeks, now called the Sea of Marmora.

PROPRÆTOR, Roman. See **PROCONSUL**

PROPYLÆA OF THE ACROPOLIS, The. See **ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS**.

PROTECTIVE TARIFFS. See **TARIFF LEGISLATION**.

PROTECTORATE, Cromwell's. See **ENGLAND**: A. D. 1653 (DECEMBER), 1654-1658.

PROTESTANT, Origin of the name. See **PAPACY**. A. D. 1525-1529

PROTESTANT FLAIL, The. See **ENGLAND**. A. D. 1678-1679

PROTESTANT REFORMATION: Bo-

hemia. See **BOHEMIA**. A. D. 1405-1415, and after.

England. See **ENGLAND**. A. D. 1527-1534, to 1558-1588.

France. See **PAPACY**: A. D. 1521-1535; and **FRANCE**: A. D. 1532-1547, and after.

Germany. See **PAPACY**: A. D. 1516-1517, 1517, 1517-1521, 1521-1522, 1522-1525, 1525-1529, 1530-1531, 1537-1563; also, **GERMANY**: A. D. 1517-1523, and 1530-1532, to 1552-1561; also **PALATINATE OF THE RHINE**: A. D. 1518-1572.

Hungary. See **HUNGARY**. A. D. 1526-1567.

Ireland: its failure. See **IRELAND**: A. D. 1535-1558.

Netherlands. See **NETHERLANDS**: A. D. 1521-1555, and after.

Piedmont. See **SAVOY**: A. D. 1559-1580.

Scotland. See **SCOTLAND**: A. D. 1547-1557; 1557; 1558-1560; and 1561-1568.

Sweden and Denmark. See **SCANDINAVIAN STATES**: A. D. 1597-1527.

Switzerland. See **PAPACY**: A. D. 1519-1524; **SWITZERLAND**: A. D. 1523-1531; and **GENÈVA**: A. D. 1536-1564.

PROTOSEVASTOS. See **SEVASTOS**.

PROVENCE: Roman origin.—"The colonization of Narbo [Narbonne, B. C. 118] may be considered as the epoch when the Romans finally settled the province of southern Gallia, which they generally named Gallia Provincia, and sometimes simply Provincia. From the time of Augustus it was named Narbonensis Provincia, and sometimes Gallia Braccata. It comprehended on the east all the country between the Rhone and the Alps. The most northeastern town in the Provincia was Geneva in the territory of the Allobroges. Massilia, the ally of Rome, remained a free city. On the west side of the Rhone, from the latitude of Lugdunum (Lyon), the Cevenna, or range of the Cévennes, was the boundary of the Provincia. . . . The limits of the Provincia were subsequently extended to Carcaso (Carcassonne) and Tolosa (Toulouse), and it will appear afterwards that some additions were made to it even on the other side of the Cévennes. This country is a part of France which is separated by natural boundaries from the rest of that great empire, and in climate and products it is Italian rather than French. In the Provincia the Romans have left some of the noblest and most enduring of their great works."—G. Long, *Decline of the Roman Republic*, v. 1, ch. 22.—The Provincia of the Romans became the Provence of mediæval times.

Cession to the Visigoths.—"The fair region which we now call Provence nearly the earliest formed and quite the latest lost 'Provincia' of Rome, that region in which the Latin spirit dwelt so strongly that the Roman nobles thought of migrating thither in 401, when Alaric first invaded Italy, refused to submit to the rule of the upstart barbarian [Odoacer, or Odoacer, who subverted the Western Empire in 476]. The Provençals sent an embassy to Constantinople to claim the protection of Zeno for the still loyal subjects of the Empire." But Zeno "inclined to the cause of Odoacer." The latter, however, who perhaps thought that he had enough upon his hands without forcing his yoke on the Provençals, made over his claim to Euric king of the Visigoths, whose influence was at this time predominant in Gaul."—T. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, bk. 4, ch. 4 (v. 3).—See, also, **ARLES**: A. D. 508-510.

A. D. 493-526.—Embraced in the Ostrogothic kingdom of Theodoric. See **ROME**: A. D. 488-526.

A. D. 536.—Cession to the Franks.—Out of the wreck of the Visigothic kingdom in Gaul, when it was overthrown by the Frank king, Clovis, the Ostrogothic king of Italy, Theodoric, seems to have secured Provence. Eleven years after the death of Theodoric, and on the eve of the subversion of his own proudly planted kingdom, in 536, his successor Witigis, or Vitigis, bought the neutrality of the Franks by the cession to them of all the Ostrogothic possessions in Gaul, which were Provence and part of Dauphiné.—T. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, bk. 4, ch. 9 (v. 3), and bk. 5, ch. 3 (v. 4).

A. D. 577-933.—The Kingdom. See **BURGUNDY**: A. D. 548-933.

A. D. 943-1092.—The Kings become Counts. —The Spanish connection.—"Southern France, . . . after having been the inheritance of several of the successors of Charlemagne, was elevated in 879 to the rank of an independent kingdom, by Bozon, who was crowned at Mantes under

the title of King of Arles, and who reduced under his dominion Provence, Dauphiny, Savoy, the Lyonnese, and some provinces of Burgundy. The sovereignty of this territory exchanged, in 943, the title of King for that of Count, under Bozon II.; but the kingdom of Provence was preserved entire, and continued in the house of Burgundy, of which Bozon I. was the founder. This noble house became extinct in 1092, in the person of Gilibert, who left only two daughters, between whom his possessions were divided. One of these, Faydide, married Alphonso, Count of Toulouse; and the other, Douce, became the wife of Raymond Berenger, Count of Barcelona. . . . The accession of Raymond Berenger, Count of Barcelona and husband of Douce, to the throne of Provence, gave a new direction to the national spirit, by the mixture of the Catalans with the Provençals. . . . Raymond Berenger and his successors introduced into Provence the spirit both of liberty and chivalry, and a taste for elegance and the arts, with all the sciences of the Arabians. The union of these noble sentiments gave birth to that poetical spirit which shone out, at once, over Provence and all the south of Europe, like an electric flash in the midst of the most palpable darkness, illuminating all things by the brightness of its flame."—J. C. L. S. de Sismondi, *Literature of the South of Europe*, ch. 3 (v. 1).—See, also, **BURGUNDY**: A. D. 1032.

A. D. 1179-1207.—Before the Albigensian Crusade.—"At the accession of Philippe Auguste [crowned as joint-king of France, 1179, succeeded his father, 1180], the greater part of the south of France was holden, not of him, but of Pedro of Arragon, as the supreme suzerain [see **SPAIN**: A. D. 1035-1258]. To the Arragonese king belonged especially the counties of Provence, Forcalquier, Narbonne, Beziers, and Carcassonne. His supremacy was acknowledged by the Counts of Bearn, of Armagnac, of Bigorre, of Comminges, of Foix, of Roussillon, and of Montpellier; while the powerful Count of Toulouse, surrounded by his estates and vassals, maintained with difficulty his independence against him. To these extensive territories were given the names sometimes of Provence, in the larger and less exact use of that word, and sometimes of Languedoc, in allusion to the rich, harmonious, picturesque, and flexible language which was then vernacular there [see **LANGUE** *n'oc*]. They who used it called themselves Provençaux or Aquitanians, to indicate that they were not Frenchmen, but members of a different and indeed of a hostile nation. Tracing their descent to the ancient Roman colonists and to the Gothic invaders of Southern Gaul, the Provençaux regarded with a mixture of contempt, of fear, and ill will, the inhabitants of the country north of the Loire, who had made far less progress than themselves, either in civil liberty, or in the arts and refinements of social life. . . . Toulouse, Marseilles, Arles, Beziers, and many other of their greater cities, emulous of the Italian republics, with whom they traded and formed alliances, were themselves living under a government which was virtually republican. Each of these free cities being, however, the capital of one of the greater lords among whom the whole of Aquitaine was parceled out, became the seat of a princely and luxurious court. A genial climate, a fertile soil, and an active commerce,

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rendered the means of subsistence abundant even to the poor, and gave to the rich ample resources for indulging in all the gratifications which wealth can purchase. They lived as if life had been one protracted holiday. Theirs was the land of feasting, of gallantry, and of mirth.

They refined and enhanced the pleasures of appetite by the pleasures of the imagination. They played with the stern features of war in knightly tournaments. They parodied the severe toils of justice in their courts of love. They transferred the poet's sacred office and high vocation to the Troubadours, whose amatory and artificial effusions posterity has willingly let die, notwithstanding the recent labours of MM. Raynouard and Fauriel to revive them.—Sir J. Stephen, *Lect's on the Hist. of France*, lect. 7.—“In the south of France, more particularly, peace, riches, and a court life, had introduced, amongst the nobility, an extreme laxity of manners. Gallantry seems to have been the sole object of their existence. The ladies, who only appeared in society after marriage, were proud of the celebrity which their lovers conferred on their charms. They were delighted with becoming the objects of the songs of their Troubadour, nor were they offended at the poems composed in their praise, in which gallantry was often mingled with licentiousness. They even themselves professed the Gay Science, ‘el Gai Saber,’ for thus poetry was called, and, in their turn, they expressed their feelings in tender and impassioned verses. They instituted Courts of Love, where questions of gallantry were gravely debated and decided by their suffrages. They gave, in short, to the whole south of France the character of a carnival, affording a singular contrast to the ideas of reserve, virtue, and modesty, which we usually attribute to those good old times.”—J. C. L. S. de Sismondi, *Literature of the South of Europe*, ch. 3 (v. 1).

ALSO IN: C. C. Fauriel, *Hist. of Provençal Poetry*.—See, also, TROUBADOURS.

A. D. 1209-1242.—The Albigensian Crusades. See ALBIGENSES.

A. D. 1246.—The count becomes founder of the Third House of Anjou. See ANJOU. A. D. 1206-1442.

A. D. 1348.—Sale and transfer of Avignon to the Pope. See PAPACY. A. D. 1294-1848.

A. D. 1536-1546.—Invasion by Charles V.—Defensive wasting of the country.—Massacre of Waldenses. See FRANCE: A. D. 1532-1547.

16th Century.—Strength of Protestantism. See FRANCE: A. D. 1559-1561.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.: The Plantation and the City. See RHODE ISLAND.

PROVISIONS OF OXFORD AND WESTMINSTER. See OXFORD, PROVISIONS OF; and LAW, COMMON. A. D. 1258.

PROVISORS, Statute of. See ENGLAND: A. D. 1306-1393.

PROXENI.—In ancient Sparta, “the so-called Proxeni, whose number was fluctuating, served as the subordinates of the kings in their diplomatic communication with foreign States.”—G. Schömann, *Antiq. of Greece: The State*, pt. 8, ch. 1, sect. 9.

PRUSA: A. D. 1326.—The first capital of the Ottomans. See TURKS (OTTOMANS): A. D. 1240-1826.

PRUSSIA.

PRUSSIA: The original country and its name.—“Five-hundred miles, and more, to the east of Brandenburg, lies a Country then [10th century] as now called Preussen (Prussia Proper), inhabited by Heathens, where also endeavours at conversion are going on, though without success hitherto. . . . Part of the great plain or flat which stretches, sloping insensibly, continuously, in vast expanse, from the Silesian Mountains to the amber-regions of the Baltic; Preussen is the seaward, more alluvial part of this,—extending west and east, on both sides of the Weichsel (Vistula), from the regions of the Oder river to the main stream of the Memel. ‘Bordering on Russia’ its name signifies: Borussia, Prussia, Prussia; or—some say it was only on a certain inconsiderable river in those parts, river Reussen, that it ‘bordered,’ and not on the great Country or any part of it, which now in our days is conspicuously its next neighbour. Who knows?—In Henry the Fowler’s time, and long afterwards, Preussen was a vehemently Heathen country, the natives a Miscellany of rough Serbic Wends, Letts, Swedish Goths, or Dryasdust knows not what,—very probably a sprinkling of Swedish Goths, from old time, chiefly along the coasts. Dryasdust knows only that these Prussen were a strong-boned, frugal herdsmen and fisher people, highly averse to be interfered with, in their religion especially. Famous otherwise, through all the centuries, for the amber they had been used to fish, and sell in foreign parts. . . . Their knowledge of Christianity was trifling, their aversion to knowing anything of it was great.”—T. Carlyle, *Frederick the Great*, bk. 2, ch. 2.

13th Century.—Conquered and Christianized by the Teutonic Knights.—The first Christian missionary who ventured among the savage heathen of Prussia Proper was Adalbert, bishop of Prague, who fell a martyr to his zeal in 997.

For two centuries after that tragedy they were little disturbed in their paganism, but early in the 13th century a Pomeranian monk named Christian succeeded in establishing among them many promising churches. The heathen party in the country, however, was enraged by the progress of the Christians and rose furiously against them, putting numerous converts to the sword. “Other agencies were now invoked by Bishop Christian, and the ‘Order of Knights Brethren of Dobrin,’ formed on the model of that which we have already encountered in Livonia, was bidden to coerce the people into the reception of Christianity. But they failed to achieve the task assigned them, and then it was that the famous ‘Order of Teutonic Knights,’ united with the ‘Brethren of the Sword’ in Livonia, concentrated their energies on this European crusade. Originally instituted for the purpose of succouring German pilgrims in the Holy Land, the ‘Order of Teutonic Knights,’ now that the old crusades had become unpopular, enrolled numbers of eager adventurers determined to expel the last remains of heathenism from the face of Europe. After the union of the two Orders had been duly solemnized at Rome, in the presence of the Pope, in the year A. D. 1283, they entered the Prussian territory, and for a space of nearly fifty years continued a series of remorseless wars against the wretched inhabitants. Slowly but surely they made their way into the

very heart of the country, and secured their conquests by erecting castles, under the shadow of which rose the towns of Culm, Thorn, Marienwerder, and Elbing, which they peopled with German colonists. The authority of the Order knew scarcely any bounds. Themselves the faithful vassals of the Pope, they exacted the same implicit obedience, alike from the German immigrant, or colonist, and the converted Prussians. . . . In A. D. 1243 the conquered lands were divided by the Pope into three bishoprics, Culm, Pomerania, and Ermland, each of which was again divided into three parts, one being subject to the bishop, and the other two to the brethren of the Order."—G. F. Maclear, *Apoptosis of Medieval Europe*, ch. 16—"None of the Orders rose so high as the Teutonic in favour with mankind. It had by degrees landed possessions far and wide over Germany and beyond, and was thought to deserve favour from above. Valiant servants, these, to whom Heaven had vouchsafed great labours and unspeakable blessings. In some fifty or fifty-three years they had got Prussian Heathenism brought to the ground, and they endeavoured to tie it well down there by bargain and arrangement. But it would not yet lie quiet, nor for a century to come; being still secretly Heathen, revolting, conspiring ever again, ever on weaker terms, till the Satanic element had burnt itself out, and conversion and composure could ensue"—T. Carlyle, *Hist. of Frederick the Great*, bk. 2 ch. 6 (c. 1).—See also, *LIVONIA: 12-13TH CENTURIES*.

A. D. 1466-1618.—Conquest and annexation to the Polish crown.—Surrender by the Teutonic Knights.—Erection into a duchy.—Union with the electorate of Brandenburg. See *POLAND: A. D. 1333-1572*; and *BRANDENBURG: A. D. 1417-1640*.

A. D. 1618-1700.—The rise of the Hohenzollern State.—"The whole territory of the new duchy of Prussia was alienated ecclesiastical land; the pope's anathema and the emperor's ban fell on the head of the renegade prince. Never was the Roman See willing to recognize such robbery. In uniting the ducal crown of their Prussian cousins with their own electoral hat the Hohenzollerns of the Mark broke forever with the Roman church. Their state stood and fell henceforward with the fortunes of protestantism. At the same time John Sigismund adopted the reformed creed. . . . At the same time of thus gaining a firm footing on the Baltic John Sigismund acquired the duchy of Cleve together with the counties of Mark and Ravensberg, — a territory narrow in circumference but highly important for the internal development as well as for the European policy of the state. They were lands which were strongholds of old and proven peasant and civic freedom, richer and of higher capacities for culture than the needy colonies of the East, outposts of incalculable value on Germany's weakest frontier. In Vienna and Madrid it was felt as a severe defeat that a new evangelical power should establish itself there on the Lower Rhine where Spaniards and Netherlands were struggling for the existence or non-existence of protestantism — right before the gates of Cologne which was the citadel of Romanism in the empire. . . . A power so situated could no longer have its horizon bounded by the narrow circle of purely territorial policy;

it was a necessity for it to seek to round off its widely scattered provinces into a consistent whole; it was compelled to act for the empire and to strike for it, for every attack of strangers on German ground cut into its own flesh. . . . For the House of Brandenburg, too, tempting calls often sounded from afar, . . . but a blessed providence, which earnest thinkers should not regard as a mere chance, compelled the Hohenzollerns to remain in Germany. They did not need the foreign crowns, for they owed their independent position among other states to the possession of Prussia, a land that was German to the core, a land the very being of which was rooted in the mother country, and yet at the same time one that did not belong to the political organization of the empire. Thus with one foot in the empire, the other planted outside of it, the Prussian state won for itself the right to carry on a European policy which could strive for none but German ends. It was able to care for Germany without troubling itself about the empire and its superannuated forms. . . . The state of the Hohenzollerns . . . was on the sure road to ruin so long as John Sigismund's successor looked sleepily into the world out of his languid eyes. . . . It was at this juncture that the elector Frederick William, the greatest German man of his day, entered the chaos of German life as a prince without land, armed only with club and sling, and put a new soul into the slumbering forces of his state by the power of his will. From that time on the impulse of the royal will, conscious of its goal, was never lost to the growing chief state of the Germans. One can imagine English history without William III, the history of France without Richelieu; the Prussian state is the work of its princes. . . . Already in the first years of the rule of the Great Elector the peculiar character of the new political creation shows out sharply and clearly. The nephew of Gustavus Adolphus who leads his army to battle with the old protestant cry of 'with God' resumes the church policy of his uncle. He it is who first among the strife of churches cries out the saving word and demands general and unconditional amnesty for all three creeds. This was the program of the Westphalian peace. And far beyond the provisions of this treaty of peace went the tolerance which the Hohenzollerns allowed to be exercised within their lands. . . . While Austria drives out its best Germans by force, the confines of Brandenburg are thrown open with unequalled hospitality to sufferers of every creed. How many thousand times has the song of praise of the Bohemian exiles sounded forth in the Marks! . . . When Louis XIV. revokes the Edict of Nantes the little Brandenburg lord steps forth boldly against him as the spokesman of the protestant world, and offers through his Potsdam Edict shelter and protection to the sons of the martyred church. . . . Thus year after year an abundance of young life streamed over into the depopulated East Marks; the German blood that the Hapsburgs thrust from them fructified the land of their rivals, and at the death of Frederick II. about a third of the inhabitants of the state consisted of the descendants of immigrants who had come there since the days of the Great Elector. . . . The particularism of all estates and of all territorial districts heard with horror how the Great Elector . . . supported his throne on the two

columns of monarchical absolutism. the miles perpetuus and permanent taxation. In the minds of the people troops and taxes still passed for an extraordinary state burden to be borne in days of need. But Frederick William raised the army into a permanent institution and weakened the power of the territorial estates by introducing two general taxes in all his provinces. On the country at large he imposed the general hide-tax (generalhufenschoss), on the cities the accise, which was a multiform system of low direct and indirect imposts calculated with full regard for the impoverished condition of agriculture and yet attacking the taxable resources at as many points as possible. In the empire there was but one voice of execration against these first beginnings of the modern army and finance system. Prussia remained from the beginning of its history the most hated of the German states; those imperial lands that fell to this princely dynasty entered, almost all of them, with loud complaints and violent opposition into this new political combination. All of them soon afterwards blessed their fate. Frederick William's successor by acquiring the royal crown gained for his house a worthy place in the society of the European powers and for his people the common name of Prussians. Only dire need, only the hope of Prussia's military aid, induced the imperial court to grant its rival the new dignity. A spasm of terror went through the theocratic world, the electorate of Mainz entered a protest, the Teutonic Order demanded back again its old possession, which now gave the name to the heretical monarchy, while the papal calendar of states, for nearly a hundred years to come, was to know only a 'margrave of Brandenburg.'—H. von Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte im 19ten Jahrhundert* (trans. from the German), v. 1, pp. 28-36.

A. D. 1626-1629.—Conquests of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden in his war with Poland. See SCANDINAVIAN STATES (SWEDEN). A. D. 1611-1629.

A. D. 1656-1688.—Complete sovereignty of the duchy acquired by the Great Elector of Brandenburg.—His curbing of the nobles. See BRANDENBURG: A. D. 1640-1688.

A. D. 1700.—The Dukedom erected into a Kingdom.—In the last year of the 17th century, Europe was on the verge of the great War of the Spanish Succession. The Emperor was making ready to contest the will by which Charles II. of Spain had bequeathed his crown to Philip, Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV. of France (see SPAIN: A. D. 1698-1700). "He did not doubt that he would speedily involve England, Holland, and the Germanic diet in his quarrel. Already several German princes were pledged to him; he had gained the Duke of Hanover by an elector's hat, and a more powerful prince, the Elector of Brandenburg, by a royal crown. By a treaty of November 16, 1700, the Emperor had consented to the erection of ducal Prussia into a kingdom, on condition that the new King should furnish him an aid of 10,000 soldiers. The Elector Frederick III. apprised his courtiers of this important news at the close of a repast, by drinking to the health of Frederick I. King of Prussia; then caused himself to be proclaimed King at Königsberg, January 15, 1701."—H. Martin, *Hist. of France: Age of Louis XIV.* (tr. by M. L. Booth), v. 2, ch. 5.

A. D. 1713.—Neufchatel and Spanish Guelderland acquired.—Orange relinquished. See UTRECHT: A. D. 1712-1714.

A. D. 1717-1809.—Abolition of serfdom. See SLAVERY, MEDIEVAL: GERMANY.

A. D. 1720.—Acquisition of territory from Sweden, including Stettin. See SCANDINAVIAN STATES (SWEDEN): A. D. 1719-1721.

A. D. 1720-1794.—Reign of Frederick William I., and after.—The later history of Prussia, under Frederick William, Frederick the Great, and their successors, will be found included in that of GERMANY.

PRUSSIAN LANGUAGE, The Old.—"The Old Prussian, a member of the Lithuanic family of languages, was spoken here as late as the 16th century, remains of which, in the shape of a catechism, are extant. This is the language of the ancient *Æstyli*, or 'Men of the East,' which Tacitus says was akin to the British, an error arising from the similarity of name, since a Slavonian . . . would call the two languages by names so like as 'Prytskain' and 'Brytskaia,' and a German . . . by names so like as 'Pryttisc' and 'Bryttisc.' The Guttones, too, of Pliny, whose locality is fixed from the fact of their having been collectors of the amber of East Prussia and Courland, were of the same stock."—R. G. Latham, *The Ethnology of Europe*, ch. 8.

PRUTH, The Treaty of the (1711). See SCANDINAVIAN STATES (SWEDEN): A. D. 1707-1718.

PRYDYN. See SCOTLAND: THE PICTS AND SCOTS.

PRYTANES.—PRYTANEUM.—The Council of Four Hundred, said to have been instituted at Athens by Solon, "was divided into sections, which, under the venerable name of prytanes, succeeded each other throughout the year as the representatives of the whole body. Each section during its term assembled daily in their session house, the prytaneum, to consult on the state of affairs, to receive intelligence, information, and suggestions, and instantly to take such measures as the public interest rendered it necessary to adopt without delay. . . . According to the theory of Solon's constitution, the assembly of the people was little more than the organ of the council, as it could only act upon the propositions laid before it by the latter."—C. Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, ch. 11.—"Clisthenes . . . enlarged the number of the senate, 50 being now elected by lot from each tribe, so as to make in all 500. Each of these companies of 50 acted as presidents of both the senate and the assemblies, for a tenth part of the year, under the name of Prytanes; and each of these tenth parts, of 85 or 36 days, so as to complete a lunar year, was called a Prytany."—G. H. Schömann, *Dissertation on the Assemblies of the Athenians*, p. 14.—See, also, ATHENS: B. C. 594.

PRYTANIS.—A title frequently recurring among the Greeks was that of Prytanis, which signified prince, or supreme ruler. "Even Hiero, the king or tyrant of Syracuse, is addressed by Pindar as Prytanis. At Corinth, after the abolition of the monarchy, a Prytanis, taken from the ancient house of the Bacchiadae, was annually appointed as supreme magistrate (see CORINTH: B. C. 745-725). . . . The same title was borne by the supreme magistrate in the

PRYTANIS.

Corinthian colony of Corcyra. . . . In Rhodes we find in the time of Polybius a Prytany lasting for six months.—G. Schömann, *Antiq of Greece: The State*, pt. 2, ch. 5.

PSALTER OF CASHEL.—**PSALTER OF TARA.** See TARA, HILL AND FEIS OF.

PSEPHISM.—A decree, or enactment, in ancient Athens.

PSEUDO-ISIDORIAN DECRETALS. The. See PAPACY: A. D. 829-847.

PTOLEMAIS, Syria. See ACRE.

PTOLEMIES, The. See EGYPT B. C. 828-30

PTOLEMY KERAUNOS, The intrigues and death of. See MACEDONIA: B. C. 297-280, and GAULS: B. C. 280-279.

PTOLEMY SOTER, and the Wars of the Diadochi. See MACEDONIA B. C. 323-316, to 297-280; and EGYPT B. C. 323-30

PTOLEMY'S CANON.—An important chronological list of Chaldean, Persian, Macedonian and Egyptian kings, compiled or continued by Claudius Ptolemaeus, an Alexandrian mathematician and astronomer in the reign of the Second Antoninus.—W. Hales, *New Analysis of Chronology*, v. 1, bk. 1

PUANS, OR WINNEBAGOES, The. See AMERICAN ABORIGINES: SIOUAN FAMILY

PUBLIC MEALS. See SYSSITIA

PUBLIC PEACE, The. See LANDFRILDE

PUBLIC WEAL, League of the. See FRANCE A. D. 1461-1468, and 1453-1461.

PUBLICIANI.—The farmers of the taxes, among the Romans. See VECTIGAL

PUBLICIANI, The. See ALBIGENSES, and PAULICIANS

PUEBLA: Capture by the French (1862). See MEXICO A. D. 1861-1867

PUBLILIAN LAW OF VOLERO, The. See ROME: B. C. 472-471

PUBLILIAN LAWS, The. See ROME B. C. 340.

PUEBLOS.—The Spanish word pueblo, meaning town, village, or the inhabitants thereof, has acquired a special signification as applied, first, to the sedentary or village Indians of New Mexico and Arizona, and then to the singular villages of communal houses which they in habit.—D. G. Brinton, *The American Race*, p. 113.—“The purely civic colonies of California were called pueblos to distinguish them from missions or presidios. The term pueblo, in its most extended meaning, may embrace towns of every description, from a hamlet to a city. . . . However, in its special significance, a pueblo means a corporate town.”—F. W. Blackmar, *Spanish Institutions of the Southwest*, ch. 8.—See AMERICAN ABORIGINES: PUEBLOS.

PUELTS, The. See AMERICAN ABORIGINES: PAMPAS TRIBES.

PUERTO CAVELLO, Spanish capitulation at (1823). See COLOMBIAN STATES: A. D. 1819-1890

PUJUNAN FAMILY, The. See AMERICAN ABORIGINES: PUJUNAN FAMILY.

PULASKI, Fort : A. D. 1861.—Seizure by Secessionists. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1860-1861 (DEC.—FEB.).

A. D. 1862 (February—April).—Siege and capture by Union forces. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1862 (FEBRUARY—APRIL: GEORGIA—FLORIDA).

PUNIC WARS.

PULLANI, The.—The descendants of the first Crusaders who remained in the East and married Asiatic women are represented as having been a very despicable half-breed race. They were called the Pullani. Prof. Palmer suggests a derivation of the name from “fulani,” anybodies. Mr. Keightley, on the contrary, states that before the crusading colonists overcame their prejudice against Oriental wives, women were brought to them from Apulia, in Italy. Whence the name Pullani.—W. Besant and E. H. Palmer, *Jerusalem*, ch. 7.

PULLMAN STRIKE, The. See SOCIAL MOVEMENTS. A. D. 1894.

PULTNEY ESTATE, The. See NEW YORK: A. D. 1786-1799.

PULTOWA, Battle of (1709). See SCANDINAVIAN STATES (SWEDEN): A. D. 1707-1718.

PULTUSK, Battle of (1703). See SCANDINAVIAN STATES (SWEDEN): A. D. 1701-1707. . . . **Battle of (1806).** See GERMANY: A. D. 1806-1807

PUMBADITHA, The School of. See JEWS: 7TH CENTURY.

PUNCAS, OR PONCAS, The. See AMERICAN ABORIGINES: SIOUAN FAMILY, and PAWNEE (CADDON) FAMILY.

PUNIC.—The adjective Punicus, derived from the name of the Phœnicians, was used by the Romans in a sense which commonly signified “Carthaginian,”—the Carthaginians being of Phœnician origin. Hence “Punic Wars,” “Punic faith,” etc., the phrase “Punic faith” being an imputation of faithlessness and treachery

PUNIC WARS, The First.—When Pyrrhus quitted Italy he is said to have exclaimed, “How fair a battle-field are we leaving to the Romans and Carthaginians!” He may easily have had sagacity to foresee the deadly struggle which Rome and Carthage would soon be engaged in, and he might as easily have predicted, too, that the beginning of it would be in Sicily. Rome had just settled her supremacy in the whole Italian peninsula; she was sure to covet next the rich island that lies so near to it. In fact, there was bred quickly in the Roman mind such an eagerness to cross the narrow strait that it waited only for the slenderest excuse. A poor pretext was found in the year 264 B. C. and it was so despicably poor that the proud Roman senators turned over to the popular assembly of the Comitia the responsibility of accepting it. There came to Rome from Messene, in Sicily—or Messana, as the Romans called the city—an appeal. It did not come from the citizens of Messene, but from a band of freebooters who had got possession of the town. These were mercenaries from Campania (lately made Roman territory by the Samnite conquest) who had been in the pay of Agathocles of Syracuse. Disbanded on that tyrant's death, they had treacherously seized Messene, slain most of the male inhabitants, taken to themselves the women, and settled down to a career of piracy and robbery, assuming the name of Mamertini,—children of Mamers, or Mars. Of course, all Sicily, both Greek and Carthaginian, was roused against them by the outrages they committed. Being hard pressed, the Mamertines invoked, as Italians, the protection of Rome; although one party among them appears to have preferred an arrangement of

terms with the Carthaginians. The Roman Senate, being ashamed to extend a friendly hand to the Mamertine cutthroats, but not having virtue enough to decline an opportunity for fresh conquests, referred the question to the people at large. The popular vote sent an army into Sicily, and Messene, then besieged by Hiero of Syracuse on one side and by a Carthaginian army on the other, was relieved of both. The Romans thereon proceeded, in two aggressive campaigns, against Syracusans and Carthaginians alike until Hiero bought peace with them, at a heavy cost, and became their half-subject ally for the remainder of his life. The war with the Carthaginians was but just commenced. Its first stunning blow was struck at Agrigentum, the splendid city of Phalaris, which the Carthaginians had destroyed, B. C. 405, which Timoleon had rebuilt, and which one of the Hannibals ("son of Gisco") now seized upon for his stronghold. In a great battle fought under the walls of Agrigentum (B. C. 262) Hannibal lost the city and all but a small remnant of his army. But the successes of the Romans on land were worth little to them while the Carthaginians commanded the sea. Hence they resolved to create a fleet, and are said to have built a hundred ships of the quinquereme order and twenty triremes within sixty days, while rowers for them were trained by an imitative exercise on land. The first squadron of this improvised navy was trapped at Lipara and lost, the remainder was successful in its first encounter with the enemy. But where naval warfare depended on good seamanship the Romans were no match for the Carthaginians. They contrived therefore a machine for their ships, called the *Corvus*, or raven, by which, running straight on the opposing vessel, they were able to grasp it by the throat, so to speak, and force fighting at close quarters. That accomplished, they were tolerably sure of victory. With their *corvus* they half annihilated the Carthaginian fleet in a great sea-fight at Mylae, B. C. 260, and got so much mastery of the sea that they were able to attack their Punic foes even in the island of Sardinia, but without much result. In 257 B. C. another naval battle of doubtful issue was fought at Tyndaris, and the following year, in the great battle of Ecnomus, the naval power of the Carthaginians, for the time being, was utterly crushed. Then followed the invasion of Carthaginian territory by Regulus, his complete successes at first, his insolent proposal of hard terms, and the tremendous defeat which overwhelmed him at Adis a little later, when he, himself, was taken prisoner. The miserable remnant of the Roman army which held its ground at Clypea on the African coast was rescued the next year (B. C. 255) by a new fleet, but only to be destroyed on the voyage homeward, with 260 ships, in a great storm on the south coast of Sicily. Then Carthaginians reappeared in Sicily and the war in that unhappy island was resumed. In 254 B. C. the Romans took the strong fortified city of Panormus. In 253, having built and equipped another fleet, they were robbed of it again by a storm at sea, and the Carthaginians gained ground and strength in Sicily. In 251 the Roman consul, Cæcilius Metellus, drove them back from the walls of Panormus and inflicted on them so discouraging a defeat, that they sent Regulus, their prisoner, on parole, with an embassy, to solicit

peace at Rome. How Regulus advised his countrymen against peace, and how he returned to Carthage to meet a cruel death—the traditional story is familiar to all readers, but modern criticism throws doubt upon it. In 250 B. C. the Romans undertook the siege of Lilybæum, which, with the neighboring port of Drepana, were the only strongholds left to the Carthaginians. The siege then commenced was one of the most protracted in history, for when the First Punic War ended, nine years later, Lilybæum was still resisting, and the Romans only acquired it with all the rest of Sicily, under the terms of the treaty of peace. Meantime the Carthaginians won a bloody naval victory at Drepana (B. C. 249) over the Roman fleet, and the latter, in the same year, had a third fleet destroyed on the coast by relentless storms. In the year 247 B. C. the Carthaginian command in Sicily was given to the great Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, who was the father of a yet greater man, the Hannibal who afterwards brought Rome very near to destruction. Hamilcar Barca, having only a few mutinous mercenary soldiers at his command, and almost unsupported by the authorities at Carthage, established himself, first, on the rocky height of Mount Ercte, or Herete, near Panormus, and afterwards on Mount Eryx, and harassed the Romans for six years. The end came at last as the consequence of a decisive naval victory near the Ægæan Isles, which the Romans achieved, with a newly built fleet, in March B. C. 241. The Carthaginians, discouraged, proposed peace, and purchased it by evacuating Sicily and paying a heavy war indemnity. Thus Rome acquired Sicily, but the wealth and civilization of the great island had been ruined beyond recovery.—R. B. Smith, *Carthage and the Carthaginians*, ch. 4-7.

Also in: W. Ilne, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 4, ch. 3. —Polybius, *Histories*, bk. 1.—A. J. Church, *The Story of Carthage*, pt. A, ch. 1-3.—See, also, *Rome*: B. C. 264-241.

The Second.—Between the First Punic War and the Second there was an interval of twenty-three years. Carthage, meantime, had been brought very near to destruction by the Revolt of the Mercenaries (see *CARTHAGE*, B. C. 241-238) and had been saved by the capable energy of Hamilcar Barca. Then the selfish faction which hated Hamilcar had regained power in the Punic capital, and the Barcine patriot could do no more than obtain command of an army which he led, on his own responsibility, into Spain, B. C. 237. The Carthaginians had inherited from the Phœnicians a considerable commerce with Spain, but do not seem to have organized a control of the country until Hamilcar took the task in hand. Partly by pacific influences and partly by force, he established a rule, rather personal than Carthaginian, which extended over nearly all southern Spain. With the wealth that he drew from its gold and silver mines he maintained his army and bought or bribed at Carthage the independence he needed for the carrying out of his plans. He had aimed from the first, no doubt, at organizing resources with which to make war on Rome. Hamilcar was killed in battle, B. C. 228, and his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, who succeeded him, lived only seven years more. Then Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, in his twenty-sixth year, was chosen to the command in Spain. He waited two years, for

the settling of his authority and for making all preparations complete, and then he threw down a challenge to the Romans for the war which he had sworn to his father that he would make the one purpose of his life. The provocation of war was the taking of the city of Saguntum, a Greek colony on the Spanish coast, which the Romans had formed an alliance with. It was taken by Hannibal after a siege of eight months and after most of the inhabitants had destroyed themselves, with their wealth. When Rome declared war it was with the expectation, no doubt, that Spain and Africa would be the battle grounds. But Hannibal did not wait for her attack. He led his Spanish army straight to Italy, in the early summer of B. C. 218, skirting the Pyrenees and crossing the Alps. The story of his passage of the Alps is familiar to every reader. The difficulties he encountered were so terrible and the losses sustained so great that Hannibal descended into Italy with only 20,000 foot and 6,000 horse, out of 50,000 of the one and 9,000 of the other which he had led through Gaul. He received some reinforcement and co-operation from the Cisalpine Gauls, but their strength had been broken by recent wars with Rome and they were not efficient allies. In the first encounter of the Romans with the dread invader, on the Ticinus, they were beaten, but not seriously. In the next, on the Trebia, where Scipio, the consul, made a determined stand, they sustained an overwhelming defeat. Thus ended the campaign of B. C. 218. Hannibal wintered in Cisalpine Gaul and passed the Apennines the following spring into Etruria, stealing a march on the Roman army, under the popular consul Flaminius, which was watching to intercept him. The latter pursued and was caught in ambush at Lake Trasimene, where Flaminius and 15,000 of his men were slain, while most of the survivors of the fatal field were taken prisoners and made slaves. Rome then seemed open to the Carthaginian, but he knew, without doubt, that his force was not strong enough for the besieging of the city, and he made no attempt. What he aimed at was the isolating of Rome and the arraying of Italy against her, in a great and powerfully handled combination of the jealousies and animosities which he knew to exist. He led his troops northward again, after the victory of Lake Trasimene, across the mountains to the Adriatic coast, and rested them during the summer. When cooler weather came he moved southward along the coast into Apulia. The Romans meantime had chosen a Dictator, Q. Fabius Maximus, a cautious man, whose plan of campaign was to watch and harass and wear out the enemy, without risking a battle. It was a policy which earned for him the name of "The Cunctator," or Lingerer. The Roman people were discontented with it, and next year (B. C. 216) they elected for one of the consuls a certain Varro who had been one of the mouthpieces of their discontent. In opposition to his colleague, *Emilius Paulus*, Varro soon forced a battle with Hannibal at Cannæ, in Apulia, and brought upon his countrymen the most awful disaster in war that they ever knew. Nearly 50,000 Roman citizens were left dead on the field, including eighty senators, and half the young nobility of the state. From the spoils of the field Hannibal was said to have sent three bushels of golden rings to Carthage, stripped from the fin-

gers of Roman knights. Rome reeled under the blow, and yet haughtily refused to ransom the 20,000 prisoners in Hannibal's hands, while she met the discomfited Varro with proud thanks, because "he had not despaired of the Republic." Capua now opened its gates to Hannibal and became the headquarters of his operations. The people of Southern Italy declared generally in his favor; but he had reached and passed, nevertheless, the crowning point of his success. He received no effective help from Carthage; nor from his brother in Spain, who was defeated by the elder Scipios, that same year (B. C. 216) at Ibera, just as he had prepared to lead a fresh army into Italy. On the other hand, the energies of the Romans had risen with every disaster. Their Latin subjects continued faithful to them, but they lost at this time an important ally in Sicily, by the death of the aged Hiero of Syracuse, and the Carthaginians succeeded in raising most of the island against them. The war in Sicily now became for a time more important than that in Italy, and the consul *Marcellus*, the most vigorous of the Roman generals, was sent to conduct it. His chief object was the taking of Syracuse and the great city sustained another of the many dreadful sieges which it was her fate to endure. The siege was prolonged for two years, and chiefly by the science and the military inventions of the famous mathematician, *Archimedes*. When the Romans entered Syracuse at last (B. C. 212) it was to pillage and slay without restraint, and *Archimedes* was one of the thousands cut down by their swords. Meantime, in Italy, *Tarentum* had been betrayed to Hannibal, but the Romans still held the citadel of the town. They had gained so much strength in the field that they were now able to lay siege to Capua and Hannibal was powerless to relieve it. He attempted a diversion by marching on Rome, but the threat proved idle and Capua was left to its fate. The city surrendered soon after (B. C. 211) and the merciless conquerors only spared it for a new population. For three or four years after this the war in Italy was one of minor successes and reverses on both sides, but Hannibal lost steadily in prestige and strength. In Spain, Hannibal's brother, *Hasdrubal*, had opportunely beaten and slain (B. C. 212) both the elder Scipios, but another and greater Scipio, *P. Cornelius*, son of *Publius*, had taken the field and was sweeping the Carthaginians from the peninsula. Yet, despite Scipio's capture of New Carthage and his victories, at *Bacula*, and elsewhere, *Hasdrubal* contrived, in some unexpected way, in the year 208, B. C., to cross the Pyrenees into Gaul and to recruit reinforcements there for a movement on Italy. The next spring he passed the Alps and brought his army safely into Cisalpine Gaul; but his dispatches to Hannibal fell into the hands of the Romans and revealed his plans. The swift energy of one of the consuls, *C. Claudius Nero*, brought about a marvellous concentration of Roman forces to meet him, and he and his army perished together in an awful battle fought on the banks of the *Metaurus*, in Umbria. The last hopes of Hannibal perished with them; but he held his ground in the extreme south of Italy and no Roman general dared try to dislodge him. When Scipio returned next year (B. C. 206) and reported the complete conquest of Spain, he was

chosen consul with the understanding that he would carry the war into Africa, though the senate stood half opposed. He did so in the early months of the year 204 B. C. crossing from Sicily with a comparatively small armament and laying siege to Utica. That year he accomplished nothing, but during the next winter he struck a terrible blow, surprising and burning the camps of the Carthaginians and their Numidian allies and slaughtering 40,000 of their number. This success was soon followed by another, on the Great Plains, which lie 70 or 80 miles to the southwest of Carthage. The Numidian king, Syphax, was now driven from his throne and the kingdom delivered over to an outlawed prince, Massinissa, who became, thenceforth, the most useful and unscrupulous of allies to the Romans. Now pushed to despair, the Carthaginians summoned Hannibal to their rescue. He abandoned Italy at the call and returned to see his own land for the first time since as a boy he left it with his father. But even his genius could not save Carthage with the means at his command. The long war was ended in October of the year 202 B. C. by the battle which is called the battle of Zama, though it was fought at some distance westward of that place. The Carthaginian army was routed utterly, and Hannibal himself persuaded his countrymen to accept a peace which stripped them of their ships and their trade, their possessions in Spain and all the islands, and their power over the Numidian states, besides wringing from them a war indemnity of many millions. On those hard terms, Carthage was suffered to exist a few years longer.—R. B. Smith, *Carthage and the Carthaginians*

ALSO IN: T. Arnold, *Hist. of Rome*, ch. 43-47.—H. G. Liddell, *Hist. of Rome*, ch. 31-34.—T. A. Dodge, *Hannibal*, ch. 11-39.—See, also, *ROME*: B. C. 218-211, to 211-202

The Third. See *CARTHAGE* B. C. 146; and *ROME*. B. C. 151-146.

PUNJAB, OR PUNJAUB, OR PANJAB, The.—"Everything has a meaning in India, and the Panjab is only another name for the Five Rivers which make the historic Indus. They rise far back among the western Himalayas, bring down their waters from glaciers twenty-five miles in length, and peaks 26,000 feet high, and hurl their mighty torrent into one great current, which is thrown at last into the Arabian Sea. It is a fertile region, not less so than the Valley of the Ganges. This Panjab is the open door, the only one by which the European of earlier days was able to descend upon the plains of India for conquest and a new home. . . . In the Panjab every foot of the land is a romance. No one knows how many armies have shivered in the winds of the hills of Afghanistan, and then pounced down through the Khaibar Pass into India, and overspread the country, until the people could rise and destroy the stranger within the gates. Whenever a European invader of Asia has reached well into the continent, his dream has always been India. That country has ever been, and still is, the pearl of all the Orient. Its perfect sky in winter, its piteous rains in summer, its immense rivers, its boundless stores of wealth, and its enduring industries, which know no change, have made it the dream of every great conqueror."—J. F. Hurst, *Indika*, ch. 75.—"In

form, the country is a great triangle, its base resting on the Himalayan chain and Cashmere, and its apex directed due south-west. . . . The five streams which confer its name, counting them from north to south, are the Upper Indus, the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravee and the Sutlej, the Indus and Sutlej constituting respectively the western and eastern boundary. . . . The four divisions enclosed by the five convergent streams are called doabs—lands of two waters. . . . Besides the territory thus delineated, the Punjab of the Sikhs included Cashmere, the Jummoo territory to Spiti and Tibet, the trans-Indus frontier and the Hazara highlands in the west; and to the east the Jullundhur Doab with Kangra and Noorpoor. These last, with the frontier, are better known as the cis- and trans-Sutlej states."—E. Arnold, *The Marquis of Dalhousie's Administration of British India*, ch. 2 (p. 1)—The Sikhs established their supremacy in the Punjab in the 18th century, and became a formidable power, under the famous Runjet Singh, in the early part of the 19th century (see *SIKHS*). The English conquest of the Sikhs and annexation of the Punjab to British India took place in 1849. See *INDIA*: A. D. 1845-1849

PUNT, Land of.—"Under the name of Punt, the old inhabitants of Kemi [ancient Egypt] meant a distant land, washed by the great ocean, full of valleys and hills, abounding in ebony and other rich woods, in incense, balsam, precious metals, and costly stones, rich also in beasts, as camels, leopards, hunting leopards, panthers, dog-headed apes, and long-tailed monkeys. . . . Such was the Ophir of the Egyptians, without doubt the present coast of the Somauli land in sight of Arabia, but separated from it by the sea. According to an old obscure tradition, the land of Punt was the original seat of the gods. From Punt the holy ones had travelled to the Nile valley, at their head Amon, Horus, Hathor."—H. Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt under the Pharaohs*, ch. 8

PURCHASE IN THE ARMY, Abolition of. See *ENGLAND* A. D. 1871

PURITANS: The movement taking form. See *ENGLAND* A. D. 1559-1566

First application of the Name. See *ENGLAND*. A. D. 1564-1565 (?)

In distinction from the Independents or Separatists.—"When, in 1603, James I. became king of England, he found his Protestant subjects divided into three classes,—Conformists, or High Ritualists; Nonconformists, or Broad-Church Puritans; and Separatists, popularly called Brownists [and subsequently called Independents]. The Conformists and the Puritans both adhered to the Church of England, and were struggling for its control. . . . The Puritans objected to some of the ceremonies of the Church, such as the ring in marriage, the sign of the cross in baptism, the promises of godparents, the showy vestments, bowing in the creed, receiving evil-livers to the communion, repetitions, and to kneeling at communion as if still adoring the Host, instead of assuming an ordinary attitude as did the apostles at the Last Supper. The majority of the lower clergy and of the middle classes are said to have favored Puritanism. . . . Dr. Neal says that the Puritan body took form in 1564, and dissolved in

1644. During that term of eighty years the Puritans were ever 'in and of the Church of England'; as Dr. Prince says in his *Annals* (1786), those who left the Episcopal Church 'lost the name of Puritans and received that of the Separatists'. . . The Separatists, unlike the Puritans, had no connection with the National Church, and the more rigid of them even denied that Church to be scriptural, or its ministrations to be valid. . . The Pilgrim Fathers, the founders of our Plymouth, the pioneer colony of New England, were not Puritans. They never were called by that name, either by themselves or their contemporaries. They were Separatists, alightingly called Brownists, and in time became known as Independents or Congregationalists. As Separatists they were oppressed and maligned by the Puritans. They did not restrict voting or office-holding to their church-members. They heartily welcomed to their little State all men of other sects, or of no sects, who adhered to the essentials of Christianity and were ready to conform to the local laws and customs. . . Though their faith was positive and strong, they laid down no formal creed"—J. A. Goodwin, *The Pilgrim Republic*, ch 2 and 1—"The reader of this history must have remarked that 'Puritan' and 'Separatist' were by no means convertible terms; that, in point of fact, they very often indicated hostile parties, pitted against each other in bitter controversies. And the inquiry may have arisen—How is this? Were not the Separatists all Puritans? . . . The term 'Puritan' was originally applied to all in the church of England who desired further reformation—a greater conformity of church government and worship to primitive and apostolic usages. But after awhile the term became restricted in its application to those who retained their respect for the church of England, and their connection with it, notwithstanding its acknowledged corruptions, in distinction from those who had been brought to abandon both their respect for that church and their connection with it, under the conviction that it was hopelessly corrupt, and could never be reformed. The Separatists, then, were indeed all Puritans, and of the most thorough and uncompromising kind. They were the very essence—the oil of Puritanism. But the Puritans were by no means all Separatists, though they agreed with them in doctrinal faith, being all thoroughly Calvinistic in their faith"—G. Punchard, *Hist. of Congregationalism*, v. 3, app., note F.

ALSO IN: G. E. Ellis, *The Puritan Age and Rule in the Colony of Mass. Bay*, ch. 3—See INDEPENDENTS OR SEPARATISTS—D. Campbell, *The Puritan in Holland, Eng., and Am.*, ch. 16 (v. 2).

A. D. 1604.—Hampton Court Conference with James I. See ENGLAND: A. D. 1604.

A. D. 1629.—Incorporation of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay. See MASSACHUSETTS: A. D. 1623-1629 THE DORCHESTER COMPANY.

A. D. 1629-1630.—The exodus to Massachusetts Bay. See MASSACHUSETTS: A. D. 1623-1629: 1629-1630; and 1630.

A. D. 1631-1636.—The Theocracy of Massachusetts Bay. See MASSACHUSETTS: A. D. 1631-1636; and 1636.

A. D. 1638-1640.—At the beginning of the English Civil War. See ENGLAND: A. D. 1638-1640.

PURUARAN, Battle of (1814). See MEXICO: A. D. 1810-1819.

PURUMANCANS, The. See CHILE: A. D. 1450-1724.

PUT-IN-BAY, Naval Battle at. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1812-1813 HARRISON'S NORTHWESTERN CAMPAIGN.

PUTEOLI.—The maritime city of Puteoli, which occupied the site of the modern town of Pozzuoli, about 7 miles from Naples, became under the empire the chief emporium of Roman commerce in Italy. The vicinity of Puteoli and its neighbor Baia was one of the favorite resorts of the Roman nobility for villa residence. It was at Puteoli that St. Paul landed on his journey to Rome—T. Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 4, ch. 11.

PUTNAM, Israel, and the American Revolution. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1775 (APRIL—MAY), (MAY—AUGUST); 1776 (AUGUST), (SEPTEMBER—NOVEMBER).

PYDNA, Battle of (B. C. 168). See GREECE: B. C. 214-146.

PYLÆ CASPIÆ. See CASPIAN GATES.

PYLÆ CILICIAE. See CILICIAN GATES.

PYLUS, Athenian seizure of. See GREECE: B. C. 425.

PYRAMID.—"The name 'pyramid'—first invented by the ancients to denote the tombs of the Egyptian kings, and still used in geometry to this day—is of Greek origin. The Egyptians themselves denoted the pyramid—both in the sense of a sepulchre and of a figure in Solid Geometry—by the word 'abumir,' while, on the other hand, the word 'Piramus' is equivalent to the 'edge of the pyramid,' namely, the four edges extending from the apex of the pyramid to each corner of the quadrangular base."—H. Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, ch. 7.

PYRAMIDS, Battle of the. See FRANCE: A. D. 1798 (MAY—AUGUST).

PYRENEES, Battles of the (1813). See SPAIN: A. D. 1812-1814.

PYRENEES, Treaty of the. See FRANCE: A. D. 1659-1661.

PYRRHIC DANCE.—A spirited military dance, performed in armor, which gave much delight to the Spartans, and is said to have been taught to children only five years old. It was thought to have been invented by the Cretans.—G. Schömann, *Antiq. of Greece: The State*, pt. 3.

PYRRHUS, and his campaigns in Italy and Sicily. See ROME: B. C. 282-275.

PYTHIAN GAMES. See DELPHI.

PYTHIAS, Knights of. See INSURANCE.

PYTHO, The Sanctuary of.—According to the Greek legend, a monstrous serpent, or dragon, Pytho, or Python, produced from the mud left by the deluge of Deucalion, lived in a great cavern of Mount Parnassus until slain by the god Apollo. The scene of the exploit became the principal seat of the worship of Apollo, the site of his most famous temple, the home of the oracle which he inspired. The temple and its seat were originally called Pytho, the cavern, from which arose mephitic and intoxicating vapors was called the Pythium; the priestess who inhaled those vapors and uttered the oracles which they were supposed to inspire, was the Pythia, Apollo, himself, was often called Pythius. Subsequently, town, temple and oracle were more commonly known by the name of Delphi. See DELPHI.

Q

QUADI, The: Early place and history. See **MARCOMANNI**.

Campaigns of Marcus Aurelius against. See SARMATIAN AND MARCOMANNIAN WARS OF MARCUS AURELIUS.

A. D. 357-359.—War of Constantius. See **LIMIGANTES**.

A. D. 374-375.—War of Valentinian. — A treacherous outrage of peculiar blackness, committed by a worthless Roman officer on the frontier, in 374, provoked the Quadi to invade the province of Pannonia. They overran it with little opposition, and their success encouraged inroads by the neighboring Sarmatian tribes. In the following year, the Emperor Valentinian led a retaliatory expedition into the country of the Quadi and revenged himself upon it with unmerciful severity. At the approach of winter he returned across the Danube, but only to wait another spring, when his purpose was to complete the annihilation of the offending Quadi. The latter thereupon, sent ambassadors to humbly pray for peace. The choleric emperor received them, but their presence excited him to such rage that a blood-vessel was ruptured in his body and he died on the spot — E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. 25.

Probable Modern Representatives of. See BOHEMIA: ITS PEOPLE.

QUADRILATERAL, The.—A famous military position in northern Italy, formed by the strong fortresses at Peschiera, Verona, Mantua, and Legnano, bears this name. "The Quadrilateral . . . fulfils all the requirements of a good defensive position, which are to cover rearward territory, to offer absolute shelter to a defending army whenever required, and to permit of ready offensive: first, by the parallel course of the Mincio and Adige; secondly, by the fortresses on these rivers; thirdly, by passages offered at fortified points which insure the command of the rivers."—Major C. Adams, *Great Campaigns in Europe from 1796 to 1870*, p. 232.

QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE (A. D. 1718). See **SPAIN: A. D. 1713-1725**; also, **ITALY: A. D. 1715-1735**.

QUÆSTIO PERPETUA. See **CALPURNIAN LAW**.

QUÆSTOR, The Imperial.—In the later Roman empire, "the Quæstor had the care of preparing the Imperial speeches, and was responsible for the language of the laws. . . . His office is not unlike that of the Chancellor of a mediæval monarch."—T. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, bk. 1, ch. 3 (v. 1).

QUÆSTORS, Roman.—"Probably created as assistants to the consuls in the first year of the republic. At first two; in 421 B. C., four; in 241, eight; in 81, twenty; in 45, forty. Thrown open to plebeians in 421 B. C. Elected in the Comitia Tributa. The quæstor's office lasted as long as the consul's to whom he was attached."—R. F. Horton, *Hist. of the Romans*, app. A.—"We have seen how the care of the city's treasures had been intrusted to two city quæstors, soon after the abolition of the monarchy. In like manner, soon after the fall of the decemvirate, the expenditures connected with military affairs, which had hitherto been in the hands of the consuls, were put under the control

of new patrician officers, the military quæstors, who were to accompany the army on its march."—A. Tighe, *Development of the Roman Const.*, ch. 6.

ALSO IN: W. Ihne, *Researches into the Hist. of the Roman Const.*, pp. 75-84.

QUÆSTORS OF THE FLEET. See **ROME: B. C. 275**.

QUAKERS: Origin of the Society of Friends.—George Fox and his early Disciples.—"The religious movement which began with the wandering preacher George Fox . . . grew into the Society of Friends, or, as they came to be commonly called, 'The Quakers.' George Fox was born in 1624, the year before Charles I. came to the throne; and he was growing up to manhood all through the troubled time of that king's reign, while the storms were gathering which at last burst forth in the civil wars. It was not much that he knew of all this, however. He was growing up in a little out-of-the-way village of Leicestershire—Fenny Drayton—where his father was 'by profession a weaver.' While he was still a child, the companions of George Fox 'laughed at his grave, sober ways, yet they respected him, too; and when, by-and-by, he was apprenticed to a shoemaker, his master found him so utterly trustworthy, and so true and unbending in his word, that the saying began to go about, 'If George says "verily" there is no altering him'. . . . He was more and more grieved at what seemed to him the lightness and carelessness of men's lives. He felt as if he were living in the midst of hollowness and hypocrisy. . . . His soul was full of great thoughts of something better and nobler than the common religion, which seemed so poor and worldly. . . . He wandered about from place to place—Northampton, London, various parts of Warwickshire—seeking out people here and there whom he could hear of as very religious, and likely to help him through his difficulties. . . . After two years of lonely, wandering life, he began to see a little light. It came to his soul that all these outward forms, and ceremonies, and professions that people were setting up and making so much ado about as 'religion,' were nothing in themselves; that priestly education and ordination was nothing—did not really make a man any nearer to God; that God simply wanted the hearts and souls of all men to be turned to Him, and the worship of their own thought and feeling. And with the sense of this there arose within him a great loathing of all the formalism, and priestcraft, and outward observances of the Churches. . . . But he did not find peace yet. . . . He writes: 'My troubles continued, and I was often under great temptations; I fasted much and walked abroad in solitary places many days.' . . . It was a time like Christ's temptations in the wilderness, or Paul's three years in Arabia, before they went forth to their great life-mission. But to him, as to them, came, at last, light and peace and an open way. . . . A voice seemed to come to him which said, 'There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition.' 'And when I heard it,' he says, 'my heart did leap for joy.' Fixing his mind upon Christ, all things began to be clearer to him; he saw the grand simple truth of a religion of

spirit and life. . . . It was at Dukinfield, near Manchester, in 1647, that he began to speak openly to men of what was in his heart. . . . In those days, when he was wandering away from men, and shrinking with a sort of horror from the fashions of the world, he had made himself a strong rough suit of leather, and this for many years was his dress. Very white and clean indeed was the linen under that rough leather suit, for he hated all uncleanness either of soul or body; and very calm and clear were his eyes, that seemed to search into men's souls, and quailed before no danger, and sometimes lighted up with wonderful tenderness. A tall, burly man he was, too, of great strength. . . . Everywhere he saw vanity and worldliness, pretence and injustice. It seemed laid upon him that he must testify against it all. He went to courts of justice, and stood up and warned the magistrates to do justly; he went to fairs and markets, and lifted up his voice against wakes, and feasts and plays, and also against people's cozening and cheating. . . . He testified against great things and small, bade men not swear, but keep to 'yea' and 'nay,' and this in courts of justice as everywhere else; he spoke against lip honour—that men should give up using titles of compliment, and keep to plain 'thee' and 'thou'; 'for surely,' he said, 'the way men address God should be enough from one to another.' But all this was merely the side-work of his life, flowing from his great central thought of true, pure life in the light of the Spirit of God. That was his great thought, and that he preached most of all; he wanted men to give up all their forms, and come face to face with the Spirit of God, and so worship Him and live to Him. Therefore he spoke most bitterly of all against all priestcraft. . . . Gradually followers gathered to him, little groups of people here and there accepted his teachings—began to look to him as their leader. He did not want to found a sect, and as for a church—the Church was the whole body of Christ's faithful people everywhere; so those who joined him would not take any name as a sect or church. They simply called themselves 'friends'; they used no form of worship, but met together, to wait upon the Lord with one another; believing that His Spirit was always with them, and that, if anything was to be said, He would put it into their hearts to say it." From the first, Fox suffered persecution at the hands of the Puritans. They "kept imprisoning him for refusing to swear allegiance to the Commonwealth; again and again he suffered in this way: in Nottingham Castle, in 1648; then, two years later, at Derby, for six months, at the end of which time they tried to force him to enter the army; but he refused, and so they thrust him into prison again, this time into a place called the Dungeon, among 30 felons, where they kept him another half-year. Then, two years later, in 1653, he was imprisoned at Carlisle, in a foul, horrible hole. . . . He was again imprisoned in Launceston gaol, for eight long months. After this came a quieter time for him: for he was taken before Cromwell, and Cromwell had a long conversation with him. . . . During Cromwell's life he was persecuted no more, but with the restoration of Charles II. his dangers and sufferings began again. . . . His followers caught his spirit, and no persecutions could intimidate them. . . . They made no secret of where their

meetings were to be, and at the time there they assembled. Constables and informers might be all about the place, it made no difference; they went in, sat down to their quiet worship; if any one had a word to say he said it. The magistrates tried closing the places, locked the doors, put a band of soldiers to guard them. The Friends simply gathered in the street in front, held their meetings there; went on exactly as if nothing had happened. They might all be taken off to prison, still it made no difference. . . . Is it wonderful that such principles, preached with such noble devotion to truth and duty, rapidly made way? By the year 1665, when Fox had been preaching for 18 years, the Society of Friends numbered 80,000, and in another ten years it had spread more widely still, and its founder had visited America, and travelled through Holland and Germany, preaching his doctrine of the inward light, and everywhere founding Meetings. Fox himself did not pass away until [1690] he had seen his people past all the days of persecution."—B. Herford, *The Story of Religion in England*, ch. 27.—"At a time when personal revelation was generally believed, it was a pardonable self-delusion that he [Fox] should imagine himself to be commissioned by the Divinity to preach a system which could only be objected to as too pure to be practised by man. This belief, and an ardent temperament, led him and some of his followers into unseasonable attempts to convert their neighbours, and unseemly intrusions into places of worship for that purpose, which excited general hostility against them, and exposed them to frequent and severe punishments. . . . Although they, like most other religious sects, had arisen in the humble classes of society, . . . they had early been joined by a few persons of superior rank and education. . . . The most distinguished of their converts was William Penn, whose father, Admiral Sir William Penn, had been a personal friend of the King [James II.], and one of his instructors in naval affairs."—Sir J. Mackintosh, *Hist. of the Revolution in Eng. in 1688*, ch. 6.—"At one of the interviews between G. Fox and Gervas Bennet—one of the magistrates who had committed him at Derby—the former bade the latter 'Tremble at the word of the Lord'; whereupon Bennet called him a Quaker. This epithet of scorn well suited the tastes and prejudices of the people, and it soon became the common appellation bestowed on Friends."—C. Evans, *Friends in the 17th Century*, ch. 2.

ALSO IN: J. Gough, *Hist. of the People called Quakers*—W. R. Wagstaff, *Hist. of the Society of Friends*—T. Clarkson, *Portraiture of Quakerism*.—*American Church History*, v. 12.

A. D. 1656-1661.—The persecution in Massachusetts. See MASSACHUSETTS: A. D. 1656-1661.

A. D. 1681.—Penn's acquisition of Pennsylvania. See PENNSYLVANIA: A. D. 1681.

A. D. 1682.—Proprietary purchase of New Jersey. See NEW JERSEY: A. D. 1673-1682.

A. D. 1688-1776.—Early growth of anti-slavery sentiment in the Society. See SLAVERY, NEGRO: A. D. 1688-1780.

QUALIFICATION OF SUFFRAGE: In England. See ENGLAND: A. D. 1884-1885.

In Rhode Island. See RHODE ISLAND: A. D. 1888.

QUANTRELL'S GUERRILLAS. See UNITED STATES OF AM. A. D. 1863 (AUGUST: MISSOURI—KANSAS).

QUAPAWS, The. See AMERICAN ABORIGINES: SIOUAN FAMILY.

QUARTER DAYS.—The "quarter days," for rent-paying, in England, are Lady Day (March 25), Midsummer Day (June 24), Michaelmas (September 29) and Christmas. In Scotland they are: Candlemas (February 2), Whitsunday (May 15), Lammas Day (August 1), and Martinmas (November 11).

QUATRE BRAS, Battle of. See FRANCE. A. D. 1815 (JUNE).

QUEBEC, City: A. D. 1535.—Its Indian occupants.—Its name.—When Jacques Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence, in 1535, he found an Indian village called Stadacona occupying the site of the present city of Quebec. The name Quebec, afterwards given to the French settlement on the same ground, is said by some to be likewise of Indian origin, having reference to the narrowing of the river at that point. "Others give a Norman derivation for the word. It is said that Quebec was so called after Candebeuc, on the Seine."—E. Warburton, *The Conquest of Canada*, v. 1, ch. 2.

A. D. 1608.—The founding of the city by Champlain. See CANADA: A. D. 1608-1611.

A. D. 1629-1632.—Capture by the English, brief occupation and restoration to France. See CANADA: A. D. 1628-1635.

A. D. 1639.—The founding of the Ursuline convent. See CANADA: A. D. 1637-1657.

A. D. 1690.—Unsuccessful attack by Sir William Phips and the Massachusetts colonists. See CANADA: A. D. 1689-1690.

A. D. 1711.—Threatened by Admiral Walker. See CANADA: A. D. 1711-1713.

A. D. 1759.—Wolfe's conquest. See CANADA: A. D. 1759 (JUNE—SEPTEMBER).

A. D. 1760.—Attempted recovery by the French. See CANADA: A. D. 1760.

A. D. 1775-1776.—Unsuccessful siege by the Americans.—Death of Montgomery. See CANADA: A. D. 1775-1776.

QUEBEC, Province: A. D. 1763.—Creation of the English province. See CANADA: A. D. 1763-1774.

A. D. 1774.—Vast extension of the province by the Quebec Act. See CANADA: A. D. 1763-1774.

A. D. 1867.—In the Dominion of Canada. See CANADA: A. D. 1867.

QUEBEC ACT, The. See CANADA: A. D. 1763-1774.

QUEBEC RESOLUTIONS, The. See CANADA: A. D. 1867.

QUEBRADA-SECA, Battle of (1862). See VENEZUELA: A. D. 1829-1886.

QUEEN, Origin of the word. See KING.

QUEEN ANNE'S BOUNTY.—The First Fruits and Tithes formerly collected in England by the Popes (see ANNATES) were swept into the royal treasury by Henry VIII., but given to the nation, in 1704, by Queen Anne, for the benefit of the poorer clergy, forming a fund called "Queen Anne's Bounty."

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR.—The wide-ranging conflict which is known in European history

as the War of the Spanish Succession, appears in American history more commonly under the name of Queen Anne's War. See NEW ENGLAND: A. D. 1702-1710.

QUEENSBERRY PLOT, The. See SCOTLAND: A. D. 1703-1704.

QUEENSLAND.—"The Colony of Queensland embraces all that part of the eastern side of the Australian Continent which lies to the northward of New South Wales, having a seaboard which extends from the parallel of 28° 10' northward to Cape York, and from that point southward and westward along fully one half the shore line of the Gulf of Carpentaria. . . A chain of coral reefs, known as a whole under the name of the Great Barrier Reef, extends from Torres Strait southward to the latitude of 24° 30'. Between this reef and the shore, a distance varying from 10 miles to 100 miles, is a channel affording a safe passage for ships. There are a few openings in the reef by which vessels may pass from one side of it to the other, but the navigation is somewhat dangerous. . . The northern shores in the Gulf of Carpentaria are flat and uninteresting, and the interior swampy. The area of Queensland is not less than 670,000 square miles (about the size of Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy combined), and it has a coast line of some 2,500 miles. The surface of Queensland may be divided into three portions: 1. A coast district, consisting of a narrow strip of country lying along the coast and traversed by numerous rivers; 2. A highland region, comprising a range of mountains with numerous offshoots, which, under the general name of the Coast Range, extends from York Peninsula to within a short distance of Brisbane. 3. Level, or nearly level, tracts of country, which extend from the mountain region to the western boundary of the Colony. . . In the southern portion of the Colony the breadth of the elevated region, from east to west, is upwards of 200 miles. The plains of the interior, which were long thought to be sterile, have been found to be for the most part well grassed and moderately watered regions, affording good grazing grounds for cattle."—*Her Majesty's Colonies (Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886)*, pp. 213-14.—Queensland was known as the Moreton Bay District of New South Wales until 1859. See AUSTRALIA: A. D. 1859; also, NEW SOUTH WALES.

QUEENSTOWN HEIGHTS, The Battle of. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1812 (SEPTEMBER—NOVEMBER).

QUELCHES, The. See AMERICAN ABORIGINES: PAMPAS TRIBES.

QUERANDIS, The. See AMERICAN ABORIGINES: PAMPAS TRIBES.

QUIBERON BAY, Naval battle of. See ENGLAND: A. D. 1759 (AUGUST—NOVEMBER). . . . Defeat of French Royalists (1795). See FRANCE: A. D. 1794-1796.

QUICHES, The. See AMERICAN ABORIGINES: QUICHES.

QUICHUAS, The. See PERU: THE ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS.

QUIDS, The.—John Randolph of Virginia "had been one of the Republican leaders while the party was in opposition [during the second administration of Washington and the administration of John Adams, as Presidents of the United States], but his irritable spirit disqualified him for heading an Administration party. He could

attack, but could not defend. He had taken offense at the President's [Jefferson's] refusal to make him Minister to England, and immediately took sides with the Federalists [1805] followed by a number of his friends, though not sufficient to give the Federalists a majority. . . . The Randolph faction, popularly called 'Quids,' gave fresh life to the Federalists in Congress, and made them an active and useful opposition party."—A. Johnston, *Hist. of Am. Politics*, ch. 6, sect. 8.

QUIETISM. See MYSTICISM.

QUIJO, OR NAPO, The. See AMERICAN

ABORIGINES: ANDESIANS

QUINARIUS, The. See AS

QUINCY RAILWAY, The. See STEAM LOCOMOTION ON LAND

QUINDECENVIRS, The.—The quindecenvirs, at Rome, had the custody of the Sibylline books.—C. Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans*, ch. 81.

QUINNIPIACK. See CONNECTICUT: A. D. 1638

QUIPU.—WAMPUM.—"The Peruvians adopted a . . . unique system of records, that by means of the quipu. This was a base cord, the thickness of the finger, of any required length, to which were attached numerous small strings of different colors, lengths, and textures, variously knotted and twisted one with another. Each of these peculiarities represented a certain number, a quality, quantity, or other idea, but what, not the most fluent quipu reader could tell unless he was acquainted with the general topic treated of. Therefore, whenever news was sent in this manner a person accompanied the bearer to serve as verbal commentator, and to prevent confusion the quipus relating to the various departments of knowledge were placed in separate storehouses, one for war, another for taxes, a third for history, and so forth. On what principle of mnemotechnics the ideas were connected with the knots and colors we are totally in the dark; it has even been doubted whether they had any application beyond the art of numeration. Each combination had, however, a fixed ideographic value in a certain branch of knowledge, and thus the quipu differed essentially from the Catholic rosary, the Jewish phylactery, or the knotted strings of the natives of North America and Siberia, to all of which it has at times been compared. The wampum used by the tribes of the North Atlantic coast was, in many respects, analogous to the quipu. In early times it was composed chiefly of bits of wood of equal size, but different colors. These were hung on strings which were woven into belts and bands, the hues, shapes, sizes, and combinations of the

strings hinting their general significance. Thus the lighter shades were invariable harbingers of peaceful or pleasant tidings, while the darker portended war and danger. The substitution of beads or shells in place of wood, and the custom of embroidering figures in the belts were, probably, introduced by European influence."—D. G. Brinton, *The Myths of the New World*, ch. 1.—See, also, WAMPUM.

QUIRINAL, The.—"The Palatine city was not the only one that in ancient times existed within the circle afterwards enclosed by the Servian walls; opposite to it, in its immediate vicinity, there lay a second city on the Quirinal. . . . Even the name has not been lost by which the men of the Quirinal distinguished themselves from their Palatine neighbours. As the Palatine city took the name of 'the Seven Mounts,' its citizens called themselves the 'mount-men' ('montani'), and the term 'mount,' while applied to the other heights belonging to the city, was above all associated with the Palatine; so the Quirinal height—although not lower, but on the contrary somewhat higher, than the former—as well as the adjacent Viminal, never in the strict use of the language received any other name than 'hill' ('collis'). . . . Thus the site of the Roman commonwealth was still at this period occupied by the Mount-Romans of the Palatine and the Hill Romans of the Quirinal as two separate communities confronting each other and doubtless in many respects at feud. . . . That the community of the Seven Mounts early attained a great preponderance over that of the Quirinal may with certainty be inferred."—T. Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 1, ch. 4.—See, also, PALATINE HILL, and SEVEN HILLS OF ROME.

QUIRITES.—In early Rome the warrior-citizens, the full burgesses, were so-called. "The king, when he addressed them, called them 'lance men' (quirites) . . . We need not . . . regard the name Quirites as having been originally reserved for the burgesses on the Quirinal. . . . It is indisputably certain that the name Quirites denoted from the first, as well as subsequently, simply the full burgess."—T. Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 1, ch. 4 and 5.—The term quirites, in fact, signified the citizens of Rome as a body. Whether it originally meant "men of the spear," as derived from a Sabine word, is a question in some dispute.—H. G. Liddell, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 1, ch. 5.

QUITO: The ancient kingdom and the modern city. See ECUADOR.

QUIVIRA. See AMERICAN ABORIGINES: PUEBLOS.

QUORATEAN FAMILY, The. See AMERICAN ABORIGINES: QUORATEAN FAMILY.

R.

RAAB, Battle of. See GERMANY: A. D. 1809 (JANUARY—JUNE).

RABBLING. See SCOTLAND: A. D. 1688–1690.

RABELAIS, on Education. See EDUCATION, RENAISSANCE.

RAB-SHAKAH.—The title of the chief minister of the Assyrian kings. The Rab-Shakah of Sennacherib demanded the surrender of Jerusalem.

RACHISIUS, King of the Lombards. A. D. 744–750.

RADAGAISUS, OR RADAGAIS, OR RODOGAST; Invasion of Italy by.—"In the year 406, Italy was suddenly overrun by a vast multitude composed of Vandals, Sueves, Burgunds, Alans, and Goths, under the command of a king named Radagais. To what nation this king belonged is not certain, but it seems likely that he was an Ostrogoth from the region of the Black Sea, who had headed a tribe of his countrymen in a revolt against the Huns. The invading host is said to have consisted of 200,000

warriors, who were accompanied by their wives and families. These barbarians were heathens, and their manners were so fierce and cruel that the invasion excited far more terror than did that of Alaric. . . . Stilicho [the able minister and general of the contemptible Emperor of the West, Honorius] found it hard work to collect an army capable of opposing this savage horde, and Radagais had got as far as Florence before any resistance was offered to him. But while he was besieging that city, the Roman general came upon him, and, by surrounding his army with earthworks, compelled him to surrender. The barbarian king was beheaded, and those of the captives whose lives were spared were sold into slavery."—H. Bradley, *Story of the Goths*, ch. 10.

ALSO IN: T. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, bk. 1, ch. 5.—See, also, *ROME*: A. D. 404–408.

RÆTIA. See **RHÆTIA**.

RAGA, RAGHA, OR RHAGES.—"The Median city next in importance to the two Ecbatanas was Raga or Rhages, near the Caspian Gates, almost at the extreme eastern limits of the territory possessed by the Medes. The great antiquity of this place is marked by its occurrence in the Zendavesta among the primitive settlements of the Arians. Its celebrity during the time of the Empire is indicated by the position which it occupies in the romances of Tobit and Judith. . . . Rhages gave name to a district; and this district may be certainly identified with the long narrow tract of fertile territory intervening between the Elburz mountain-range and the desert, from about Kasvin to Khaar, or from long. 50° to 52° 30'. The exact site of the city of Rhages within this territory is somewhat doubtful. All accounts place it near the eastern extremity; and, as there are in this direction ruins of a town called Rhei or Rhey, it has been usual to assume that they positively fix the locality. But . . . there are grounds for placing Rhages very much nearer to the Caspian Gates."—G. Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies: Media*, ch. 1.—See, also, **CASPIAN GATES**.

RAGÆ. See **RATÆ**.

RAGMAN'S ROLL. See **SCOTLAND**: A. D. 1328.

RAID OF RUTHVEN, The. See **SCOTLAND**: A. D. 1582.

RAILROADS. See **STEAM LOCOMOTION ON LAND**; and **TRADE, MODERN**.

RAISIN RIVER, Battle of. See **UNITED STATES OF AM.**: A. D. 1812–1813 **HARRISON'S NORTHWESTERN CAMPAIGN**.

RAJA, OR RAJAH.—**MAHARAJA.**—Hindu titles, equivalent to king and great king.

RAJPOOTS, OR RAJPUTS.—**RAJPOOTANA.**—"The Rajpoots, or sons of Rajas, are the noblest and proudest race in India. . . . They claim to be representatives of the Kshatriyas; the descendants of those Aryan warriors who conquered the Punjab and Hindustan in times primeval. To this day they display many of the characteristics of the heroes of the Maha Bharata and Ramayana. They form a military aristocracy of the feudal type. . . . The Rajpoots are the links between ancient and modern India. In days of old they strove with the kings of Magadha for the suzerainty of Hindustan from the Indus to the lower Gangetic valley. They maintained imperial thrones at Lahore and

Delhi, at Kanouj and Ayodhya. In later revolutions their seats of empire have been shifted further west and south, but the Rajpoot kingdoms still remain as the relics of the old Aryan aristocracy. . . . The dynasties of Lahore and Delhi faded away from history, and perchance have reappeared in more remote quarters of India. The Rajpoots still retain their dominion in the west, whilst their power and influence have been felt in every part of India; and to this day a large Rajpoot element characterizes the populations, not only of the Punjab and Hindustan, but of the Dekhan and Peninsula. The Rajpoot empire of a remote antiquity is represented in the present day by the three kingdoms of Meywar, Marwar, and Jeypore. Meywar, better known as Chittore or Udaipore, is the smallest but most important of the three. It forms the garden of Rajpootana to the eastward of the Aravulli range. Westward of the range is the dreary desert of Marwar. Northward of Meywar lies the territory of Jeypore, the intermediate kingdom between Meywar and the Mussulmans. . . . In former times the sovereigns of Meywar were known as the Ranas of Chittore; they are now known as the Ranas of Udaipore. They belong to the blue blood of Rajpoot aristocracy."—J. T. Wheeler, *Hist. of India*, v. 3, ch. 7.—"Everywhere [in the central region of India] Rajput septs or petty chiefships may still be found existing in various degrees of independence. And there are, of course, Rajput Chiefs outside Rajputana altogether, though none of political importance. But Rajputana proper, the country still under the independent rule of the most ancient families of the purest clans, may now be understood generally to mean the great tract that would be crossed by two lines, of which one should be drawn on the map of India from the frontier of Sind Eastward to the gates of Agra; and the other from the Southern border of the Punjab Government near the Sutlej Southward and South-Eastward until it meets the broad belt of Maratha States under the Guicowar, Holkar, and Scindia, which runs across India from Baroda to Gwalior. This territory is divided into nineteen States, of which sixteen are possessed by Rajput clans, and the Chief of the clan or sept is the State's ruler. To the Sesodia clan, the oldest and purest blood in India, belong the States of Oodeypoor, Banawarra, Pertabgarh, and Shahpura; to the Rathore clan, the States of Jodhpoor and Bikanir; Jeypoor and Ulwar to the Kuchwaha, and so on."—Sir A. C. Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, ch. 8.

RALEIGH, Sir Walter: Colonizing undertakings in Virginia. See **AMERICA**: A. D. 1584–1586, and 1587–1590. . . . **Guiana and El Dorado expeditions.** See **EL DORADO**.

RAMBOUILLET, The Hôtel de.—"The marquise de Rambouillet, who drew around herself, at Paris, the famous coterie which took its name from her hospitable house, was the daughter of a French nobleman, Jean de Vivonne, sieur de Saint-Gohard, afterwards first marquis de Pisani, who married a Roman lady of the noble family of the Strozzi. Catherine de Vivonne was born of this union in 1588, and in 1600, when less than twelve years old, became the wife of Charles d'Angennes, vidame du Mans afterwards marquis de Rambouillet. Her married life was more than half a century in duration; she was the mother of seven children, and she

survived her husband thirteen years. During the minority of the husband the ancient residence of his family had been sold, and from 1610 to 1617 the marquis and marquise were engaged in building a new Hôtel de Rambouillet, which the latter is credited with having, in great part, designed. Her house being finished she opened it "to her friends and acquaintances, and her receptions, which continued until the Fronde (1648), brought together every evening the choicest society of the capital, and produced a profound influence upon the manners and literature of the day. The marquise ceased attending court some years before the death of Henry IV., her refinement and pure character finding there an uncongenial atmosphere. The marquise was not alone a woman of society, but was carefully educated and fond of literature. Consequently the reunions at the Hôtel de Rambouillet were distinguished by a happy combination of rank and letters. Still more important was the new position assumed by the hostess and the ladies who frequented her house. Until the XVIIth century the crudest views prevailed as to the education and social position of woman. It was at the Hôtel de Rambouillet that her position as the intellectual companion of man was first recognized, and this position of equality, and the deferential respect which followed it, had a powerful influence in refining the rude manners of men of rank whose lives had been passed in camps and of men of letters who had previously enjoyed few opportunities for social polish. The two classes met for the first time on a footing of equality, and it resulted in elevating the occupation of letters and imbuing men of rank with a fondness for intellectual pursuits. The reunions at the Hôtel de Rambouillet began as has been said about 1617, and extend until the Fronde (1648) or a few years later. This period Larroumet ('*Précieuses Ridicules*' p. 14) divides into three parts: from 1617 to about 1629, from 1630 to 1640, and from 1640 to the death of the marquise in 1665. During the first period the habits of the Hôtel de Rambouillet were "the marquis du Vigan, the marshal de Souvres, the duke de la Tremolle, Richelieu (then bishop of Luçon), the cardinal de la Valette, the poets Malherbe, Racan, Gombault, Chapelain, Marino, the preacher Cospeau, Godeau, the grammarian Vaugelas, Voiture, Balzac, Segrais, Mlle Paulet, the princesse de Montmorency, Mlle du Vigan, and the daughters of the marquise de Rambouillet, "of whom the eldest, Julie d'Angennes, until her marriage in 1645 to the marquis de Montausier, was the soul of the reunions of the Hôtel de Rambouillet. The second period was that of its greatest brilliancy. To the illustrious names just mentioned must be added "the great Conde, the marquis de Montausier, Saint Evremond, La Rochefoucauld, Sarrasin, Costar, Patru, Conrart, Georges de Scudéry, Mairat, Colletet, Menage, Bensérade, Cotin, Desmarests, Rotrou, Scarron, P. Corneille, Bossuet, Mlle de Bourbon, later duchesse de Longueville, Mlle de Coligny, Mme. Aubry, and Mlle. de Scudéry, "yet unknown as a writer. After 1640 the Hôtel de Rambouillet began to decline; but two names of importance belong to this period: Mme de la Fayette, and Mme. de Sévigné. . . . Voiture died in 1648, the year which witnessed the outbreak of the Fronde, after which the reunions at the Hôtel de Rambouillet virtually ceased. . . . Until the

time of Roederer ['*Mémoire pour servir à l'histoire de la société polie en France*'] it was generally supposed that the word '*Précieuse*' was synonymous with Hôtel de Rambouillet, and that it was the marquise and her friends whom Molière intended to satirize. Roederer endeavored to show that it was not the marquise but her bourgeois imitators, the circle of Mlle de Scudéry. . . . Victor Cousin attempts to prove that it was neither the marquise nor Mlle de Scudéry, but the imitators of the latter. . . . The editor of Molière in the '*Grands Écrivains de la France*,' M. Despois (v. 2, p. 4) believes that the Hôtel de Rambouillet, including Mlle de Scudéry, was the object of Molière's satire, although he had no intention of attacking any particular person among the '*Précieuses*,' but confined himself to ridiculing the eccentricities common to them all. It is with this last view that the editor of the present work unhesitatingly agrees, for reasons which he hopes some day to give in detail in an edition of the two plays of Molière mentioned above ['*Précieuses Ridicules*,' and '*Les Femmes Savantes*']. From Paris the influence of the '*Précieuses*,' spread into the provinces, doubtless with all the exaggerations of an unskillful imitation."—T. F. Crane, *Intro. to 'La Société Française au Dix-Septième Siècle'*.

Also in A. G. Mason, *The Women of the French Salons*, ch. 2-7.

RAMBOUILLET DECREE, The. See UNITED STATES OF AM. A. D. 1810-1812.

RAMESES, RAAMSES, OR RAMSES, Treasure-city of. See JWS. THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS.

RAMESSIDS, The.—The nineteenth dynasty of Egyptian kings, sprung from Rameses I. fourteenth to twelfth centuries B. C. See EGYPT. ABOUT B. C. 1400-1200.

RAMILLIES, Battle of (1706). See NETHERLANDS. A. D. 1706-1707.

RAMIRO I, King of Aragon, A. D. 1035-1063. **Ramiro I**, King of Leon and the Asturias, or Oviedo, 842-850. **Ramiro II**, King of Aragon, 1134-1137. **Ramiro II**, King of Leon and the Asturias, or Oviedo, 939-950. **Ramiro III**, King of Leon and the Asturias, or Oviedo, 967-982.

RAMNES.—RAMNIANS, The. See ROMAN BEGINNINGS AND NAME.

RAMOTH-GILEAD.—The strong fortress of Ramoth Gilead on the frontier of Samaria and Syria was the object and the scene of frequent warfare between the Israelites and the Arameans of Damascus. It was there that king Ahab of Samaria in alliance with Judah, was killed in battle fighting against Ben Hadad of Damascus.—1 Kings, xxi.

Also in Dean Stanley, *Lect's on the Hist. of the Jewish Church*, lect. 33.

RANAS OF UDAIPORE OR CHITTORE. See RAJPOORS.

RANDOLPH, Edmund, and the framing and adoption of the Federal Constitution. See UNITED STATES OF AM. A. D. 1787, 1787-1789. In the Cabinet of President Washington. See UNITED STATES OF AM. A. D. 1789-1792.

RANJIT SINGH, OR RUNJIT SINGH, The conquests of. See SIKHS.

RANTERS.—MUGGLEDONIANS.—"These [the Ranters] made it their business,"

says Baxter, 'to set up the Light of Nature under the name of Christ in Man, and to dishonour and cry down the Church, the Scripture, and the present Ministry, and our worship and ordinances, and called men to hearken to Christ within them. But withal they conjoined a cursed doctrine of Libertinism, which brought them to all abominable filthiness of life. They taught, as the Familists, that God regardeth not the actions of the outward man, but of the heart, and that to the pure all things are pure'. Of no sect do we hear more in the pamphlets and newspapers between 1650 and 1655, though there are traces of them of earlier date. Sometimes confounded with the Ranters, but really distinguishable, were some crazed men, whose crazes had taken a religious turn, and whose extravagances became contagious—Such was a John Robins, first heard of about 1650, when he went about, sometimes as God Almighty, sometimes as Adam raised from the dead. One heard next, in 1652, of two associates, called John Reeve and Ludovick Muggleton, who professed to be 'the two last Spiritual Witnesses (Rev. xi) and alone true Propheets of the Lord Jesus Christ, God alone blessed to all eternity'. They believed in a real man shaped God, existing from all eternity, who had come upon earth as Jesus Christ, leaving Moses and Elijah to represent him in Heaven. Muggleton died in 1698, 'at the age of 90, leaving a sect called The Muggletonians, who are perhaps not extinct yet'—D. Masson, *Life of John Milton*, v 5, pp 17-20.

RAPALLO, Battle of (1425). See ITALY. A. D. 1412-1447. Massacre at (1494). See ITALY. A. D. 1494-1496.

RAPE OF THE SABINE WOMEN, The. See ROME. B. C. 753-510.

RAPES OF SUSSEX.—"The singular division of Sussex [England] into six 'rapes' [each of which is subdivided into hundreds] seems to have been made for military purposes. The old Norse 'hreppr' denoted a nearly similar territorial division"—T. P. Taswell Langmead, *Eng. Const. Hist.*, ch 1, foot-note—"The 'reebning,' or mensuration by the rope or line, supplied the technical term of 'hrepp' to the glossary of Scandinavian legislation. archaeologists have therefore pronounced an opinion that the 'Rapes' of Sussex, the divisions ranging from the Channel shore to the Suthrige border, were, according to Norwegian fashion, thus plotted out by the Conqueror"—Sir F. Palgrave, *Hist. of Normandy and Eng.*, bk 1, ch. 5.

RAPHIA, Battle of (B. C. 217). See SELEUCIDÆ. B. C. 224-187.

RAPID INDIANS. See AMERICAN ABORIGINES: RAPID INDIANS.

RAPIDAN, Campaign of Meade and Lee on the. See UNITED STATES OF AM. A. D. 1863 (JULY—NOVEMBER: VIRGINIA).

RAPPAHANNOCK STATION, Battle of. See UNITED STATES OF AM. A. D. 1863 (JULY—NOVEMBER: VIRGINIA).

RAPPAREES.—TORIES.—"Ejected proprietors [in Ireland, 17th and 18th centuries] whose names might be traced in the annals of the Four Masters, or around the sculptured crosses of Clonmacnoise, might be found in abject poverty hanging around the land which had lately been their own, shrinking from servile labour as from an intolerable pollution, and still receiving a secret homage from their old tenants.

In a country where the clan spirit was intensely strong, and where the new landlords were separated from their tenants by race, by religion, and by custom, these fallen and impoverished chiefs naturally found themselves at the head of the discontented classes, and for many years after the Commonwealth, and again after the Revolution, they and their followers, under the names of Tories and rapparees, waged a kind of guerrilla war of depredations upon their successors. After the first years of the 18th century, however, this form of crime appears to have almost ceased, and although we find the names of Tories and rapparees on every page of the judicial records, the old meaning was no longer attached to them, and they had become the designations of ordinary felons, at large in the country"—W. E. H. Lecky, *Hist. of Eng.*, 18th Century, ch 7 (v 2)—"The distinction between the Irish foot soldier and the Irish Rapparee had never been very strongly marked. It now disappeared [during the war in Ireland between James II. and William of Orange—A. D. 1691]. Great part of the army was turned loose to live by marauding"—Lord Macaulay, *Hist. of Eng.*, ch 17 (v 4)—"The Rapparee was the lowest of the low people. The Rapparee knew little difference between friend and foe; receiving no mercy, they gave none"—Sir J. Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Gt. Britain and Ireland*, pt 2, bk 5 (v 3)—"Political disaffection in Ireland has been the work, on the one hand, of the representatives of the old disinherited families—the Kernes, and Gallowglasses of one age, the Rapparees of the next, the houghers and ravishers of a third, on the other, of the restless aspirations of the Catholic clergy"—J. A. Froude, *The English in Ireland*, bk 9, ch 1 (v 3).

RAPPITES, The. See SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: A. D. 1805-1827.

RARITANS, The. See AMERICAN ABORIGINES: ALGONQUIAN FAMILY.

RAS.—RASENNA. See ETRUSCANS.

RASCOL.—RASKOL.—RASKOLNIKS. See RUSSIA. A. D. 1655-1659.

RASTA, The. See LEUGA.

RASTADT, Congress of.—Murder of French envoys. See FRANCE. A. D. 1799 (APRIL—SEPTEMBER).

RASTADT, The Treaty of (1714). See UTRECHT. A. D. 1712-1714.

RATÆ, OR RAGÆ.—A Roman town in Britain.—"one of the largest and most important of the midland cities, adorned with rich mansions and temples, and other public buildings. Its site is now occupied by the town of Leicester"—T. Wright, *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, ch. 5.

RATHMINES, Battle of (1649). See IRELAND. A. D. 1648-1649.

RATHS.—"Of those ancient Raths, or Hill-fortresses, which formed the dwellings of the old Irish chiefs, and belonged evidently to a period when cities were not yet in existence, there are to be found numerous remains throughout the country. This species of earthen work is distinguished from the artificial mounds, or tumuli, by its being formed upon natural elevations, and always surrounded by a rampart."—T. Moore, *Hist. of Ireland*, ch. 9.

RATHSMANN, RATHSMEISTER, etc. See CITIES, IMPERIAL AND FREE, OF GERMANY.

RATISBON: Taken by the Swedish-German forces (1633). See GERMANY: A. D. 1682-1684.

RATISBON, Battle of. See GERMANY A. D. 1809 (JANUARY-JUNE).

RATISBON, Catholic League of. See PAPACY: A. D. 1522-1525

RAUCOUX, Battle of (1746). See NETHERLANDS: A. D. 1746-1747.

RAUDINE PLAIN, Battle of the. See CIMBRI AND TEUTONES: B. C. 113-102

RAURACI, The.—An ancient tribe "whose origin is perhaps German, established on both banks of the Rhine, towards the elbow which that river forms at Bâle"—Napoleon III., *Hist. of Caesar*, bk. 3, ch. 2, foot note

RAVENIKA, The Parliament of.—Henry, the second emperor of the Latin empire of Romania, or empire of Constantinople, convened a general parliament or high-court of all his vassals, at Ravenika, in 1209, for the determining of the feudal relations of all the subjects of the empire. Ravenika is in ancient Chalkidike, some fifty miles from Thessalonica.—G. Finlay, *Hist. of Greece from its Conquest by the Crusaders*, ch. 4, sect. 4.

RAVENNA: B. C. 50.—Cæsar's advance on Rome. See ROME: B. C. 52-50

A. D. 404.—Made the capital of the Western Empire.—"The houses of Ravenna, whose appearance may be compared to that of Venice, were raised on the foundation of wooden piles. The adjacent country, to the distance of many miles, was a deep and impassable morass, and the artificial causeway which connected Ravenna with the continent might be easily guarded, or destroyed, on the approach of a hostile army. These morasses were interspersed, however, with vineyards; and though the soil was exhausted by four or five crops, the town enjoyed a more plentiful supply of wine than of fresh water. The air, instead of receiving the sickly and almost pestilential exhalations of low and marshy grounds, was distinguished, like the neighbourhood of Alexandria, as uncommonly pure and salubrious; and this singular advantage was ascribed to the regular tides of the Adriatic. . . . This advantageous situation was fortified by art and labour; and, in the twentieth year of his age, the Emperor of the West [Honorius, A. D. 395-423] anxious only for his personal safety, retired to the perpetual confinement of the walls and morasses of Ravenna. The example of Honorius was imitated by his feeble successors, the Gothic kings, and afterwards the exarchs, who occupied the throne and palace of the emperors; and till the middle of the eighth century Ravenna was considered as the seat of government and the capital of Italy."—E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. 30.

Also in: T. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, ch. 8.—See, also, ROME: A. D. 404-408

A. D. 490-493.—Siege and capture by Theodoric.—Murder of Odoacer.—Capital of the Ostrogothic kingdom. See ROME: A. D. 489-528.

A. D. 493-528.—The capital of Theodoric the Ostrogoth.—"The usual residence of Theodoric was Ravenna, with which city his name is linked as inseparably as those of Honorius or Placidia. The letters of Cassiodorus show his zeal for the architectural enrichment of this capi-

tal. Square blocks of stone were to be brought from Faenza, marble pillars to be transported from the palace on the Pincian Hill: the most skilful artists in mosaic were invited from Rome to execute some of those very works which we still wonder at in the basilicas and baptisteries of the city by the Ronco. The chief memorials of his reign which Theodoric has left at Ravenna are a church, a palace, and a tomb."—T. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, bk. 4, ch. 8 (v. 3).

A. D. 540.—Surrender to Belisarius. See ROME: A. D. 535-558.

A. D. 554-800.—The Exarchate. See ROME: A. D. 534-800

A. D. 728-751.—Decline and fall of the Exarchate. See PAPACY: A. D. 728-774.

A. D. 1275.—The Papal sovereignty confirmed by Rodolph of Hapsburg. See GERMANY: A. D. 1273-1308

A. D. 1512.—Taken by the French.—Battle before the city.—Defeat of the Spaniards. See ITALY: A. D. 1510-1513.

RAVENSPUR.—The landing place of Henry of Lancaster, July 4, 1399, when he came back from banishment to demand the crown of England from Richard II. It is on the coast of Yorkshire.

RAYMOND, of Toulouse, The Crusade of. See CRUSADES: A. D. 1096-1099; also, JERUSALEM: A. D. 1099; and 1099-1144.

RAYMOND, Battle of. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1863 (APRIL-JULY: ON THE MISSISSIPPI)

REAL, Spanish. See SPANISH COINS.

REAMS'S STATION, Battle of. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1864 (AUGUST: VIRGINIA)

REASON, The Worship of. See FRANCE: A. D. 1793 (NOVEMBER).

REBECCAITES. — DAUGHTERS OF REBECCA.—Between 1839 and 1844, a general outbreak occurred in Wales against what were thought to be the excessive tolls collected on the turnpike roads. Finding that peaceful agitation was of no avail the people determined to destroy the turnpike gates, and did so very extensively, the movement spreading from county to county. They applied to themselves the Bible promise given to the descendants of Isaac's wife, that they should possess the "gate" of their enemies, and were known as the Daughters, or Children of Rebecca, or Rebeccaites. Their proceedings assumed at last a generally riotous and lawless character, and were repressed by severe measures. At the same time Parliament removed the toll gate grievance by an amended law.—W. N. Molesworth, *Hist. of Eng.*, 1830-1874, v. 2, p. 131.

RECESS.—Certain decrees of the Germanic diet were so called. See PAPACY: A. D. 1580-1581.

RECHABITES, The.—An ascetic religious association, or order, formed among the Israelites, under the influence of the prophet Elijah, or after his death. Like the monks of a later time, they mostly withdrew into the desert. "The vow of their order was so strict that they were not allowed to possess either vineyards or corn-fields or houses, and they were consequently rigidly confined for means of subsistence to the products of the wilderness."—H. Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, bk. 4, sect. 1 (v. 4).

RECIPROCITY TREATY.

RECIPROCITY TREATY, Canadian. See **TARIFF LEGISLATION, &c.** (UNITED STATES AND CANADA): A. D. 1854-1866.

RECOLLECTS, OR RÉCOLLETS.—This name is borne by a branch of the Franciscan order of friars, to indicate that the aim of their lives is the recollection of God and the forgetfulness of worldly things.

RECONSTRUCTION: President Lincoln's Louisiana plan. See **UNITED STATES OF AM.**: A. D. 1863-1864 (DECEMBER—JULY). . . . President Johnson's plan. See same, A. D. 1865 (MAY—JULY). . . . The question in Congress. See same: A. D. 1865-1866 (DECEMBER—APRIL), 1866-1867 (OCTOBER—MARCH), 1867 (MARCH). . . . See also: **SOUTH CAROLINA:** A. D. 1865-1876; **TENNESSEE:** A. D. 1865-1866; **LOUISIANA:** A. D. 1865-1867.

RECVLVER, Roman origin of. See **REGUL-BIUM**.

RED CAP OF LIBERTY, The. See **LIB-ERTY CAP**.

RED CROSS, The.—"A confederation of relief societies in different countries, acting under the Geneva Convention, carries on its work under the sign of the Red Cross. The aim of these societies is to ameliorate the condition of wounded soldiers in the armies in campaign on land or sea. The societies had their rise in the conviction of certain philanthropic men, that the official sanitary service in wars is usually insufficient, and that the charity of the people, which at such times exhibits itself munificently, should be organized for the best possible utilization. An international public conference was called at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1863, which, though it had not an official character, brought together representatives from a number of Governments. At this conference a treaty was drawn up, afterwards remodeled and improved, which twenty-five Governments have signed. The treaty provides for the neutrality of all sanitary supplies, ambulances, surgeons, nurses, attendants, and sick or wounded men, and their safe conduct, when they bear the sign of the organization, viz: the Red Cross. Although the convention which originated the organization was necessarily international, the relief societies themselves are entirely national and independent; each one governing itself and making its own laws according to the genius of its nationality and needs. It was necessary for recognizance and safety, and for carrying out the general provisions of the treaty, that a uniform badge should be agreed upon. The Red Cross was chosen out of compliment to the Swiss Republic, where the first convention was held, and in which the Central Commission has its headquarters. The Swiss colors being a white cross on a red ground, the badge chosen was these colors reversed. There are no 'members of the Red Cross,' but only members of societies whose sign it is. There is no 'Order of the Red Cross.' The relief societies use, each according to its convenience, whatever methods seem best suited to prepare in times of peace for the necessities of sanitary service in times of war. They gather and store gifts of money and supplies; arrange hospitals, ambulances, methods of transportation of wounded men, bureaus of information, correspondence, &c. All that the most ingenious philanthropy could devise and execute has been attempted in this direction. In the

REFERENDUM AND INITIATIVE.

Franco-Prussian war this was abundantly tested. . . . This society had its inception in the mind of Monsieur Henri Dunant, a Swiss gentleman, who was ably seconded in his views by Monsieur Gustave Moynier and Dr. Louis Appia, of Geneva."—*Hist. of the Red Cross* (Washington, 1883).

RED FORTRESS, The. The Alhambra. See **SPAIN:** A. D. 1238-1278.

RED LAND, The. See **VEHMGERICHTS**.

RED LEGS. See **JAYHAWKERS**.

RED RIVER COMPANY AND SETTLEMENT.—RIEL'S REBELLION. See **CANADA:** A. D. 1869-1873.

RED RIVER EXPEDITION. See **UNITED STATES OF AM.**: A. D. 1864 (MARCH—MAY: **LOUISIANA**).

RED ROBE, Counsellors of the. See **VENICE:** A. D. 1032-1319.

RED TERROR, The.—The later period of the French Reign of Terror, when the guillotine was busiest, is sometimes so called. See **FRANCE:** A. D. 1794-1795 (JULY—APRIL).

REDAN, Assaults on the (1855). See **RUS-SIA:** A. D. 1854-1856.

REDEMPTIONERS.—"Redemptioners, or term slaves, as they were sometimes called, constituted in the early part of the 18th century a peculiar feature of colonial society. They were recruited from among all manner of people in the old world, and through this channel Europe emptied upon America, not only the virtuous poor and oppressed of her population, but the vagrants, felons, and the dregs of her communities. . . . There were two kinds of redemptioners: 'indented servants,' who had bound themselves to their masters for a term of years previous to their leaving the old country; and 'free-willers,' who, being without money and desirous of emigrating, agreed with the captains of ships to allow themselves and their families to be sold on arrival, for the captain's advantage, and thus repay costs of passage and other expenses."—A. D. Mellick, Jr., *The Story of an Old Firm*, ch. 11.

REDEMPTORISTS, The.—The members of the congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, founded by St. Alphonsus Maria de Liguori, in 1732, are commonly known as Redemptorists. The congregation is especially devoted to apostolic work among neglected classes of people.

REDONES, The. See **VENETI OF WESTERN GAUL**.

REDSTICKS, The. See **FLORIDA:** A. D. 1816-1818.

REDUCTIONS IN PARAGUAY, The Jesuit. See **PARAGUAY:** A. D. 1608-1878.

REDWOOD LIBRARY. See **LIBRARIES, MODERN:** **UNITED STATES**.

REEVE. See **GEREFA**; and **MARGRAVE**.

REFERENDARIUS. See **CHANCELLOR**.

REFERENDUM AND INITIATIVE, The Swiss.—"A popular vote under the name Referendum was known in the valleys of Graubünden and Wallis as early as the 16th century. Here existed small federations of communities who regulated certain matters of general concern by means of assemblies of delegates from each village. These conventions were not allowed to decide upon any important measure finally, but must refer the matter to the various constituencies. If a majority of these approved, the act might be passed at the next assembly. This

primitive system lasted till the French invasion of 1798, and was again established in Graubünden in 1815. The word Referendum was also used by the old federal diets, in which there were likewise no comprehensive powers of legislation. If not already instructed the delegates must vote 'ad referendum' and carry all questions to the home government. The institution as now known is a product of this century. It originated in the canton of St. Gallen in 1830, where at the time the constitution was undergoing revision. As a compromise between the party which strove for pure democracy and that desiring representative government it was provided that all laws should be submitted to popular vote if a respectable number of voters so demanded. Known at first by the name *Veto*, this system slowly found its way into several of the German speaking cantons, so that soon after the adoption of the federal constitution five were employing the optional Referendum. Other forms of popular legislation were destined to find wider acceptance, but at present [1891] in eight states, including three of the Romance tongue laws must be submitted on request. The usual limit of time during which the petition must be signed is 30 days. These requests are directed to the Executive Council of the state, and that body is obliged, within a similar period after receiving the same, to appoint a day for the vote. The number of signers required varies from 500 in the little canton Zug to 6 000 in St. Gallen, or from one tenth to one fifth of all the voters. Some states provide that in connection with the vote on the bill as a whole, an expression may be taken on separate points. Custom varies as to the number of votes required to veto a law. Some fix the minimum at a majority of those taking part in the election, and others at a majority of all citizens, whether voting or not. In case the vote is against the bill, the matter is referred by the Executive Council to the legislature. This body, after examining into the correctness of the returns, passes a resolution declaring its own act to be void. By means of the Initiative or Imperative Petition, the order of legislation just described is reversed, since the impulse to make law is received from below instead of above. The method of procedure is about as follows. Those who are interested in the passage of a new law prepare either a full draft of such a bill or a petition containing the points desired to be covered, with the reasons for its enactment, and then bring the matter before the public for the purpose of obtaining signatures. Endorsement may be given either by actually signing the petition or by verbal assent to it. The latter form of consent is indicated either in the town meetings of the communes, or by appearing before the official in charge of the petition and openly asking that his vote be given for it. If, in the various town meetings of the canton taken together, a stated number of affirmative votes are given for the petition, the effect is the same as if the names of voters had been signed. . . . The number of names required is about the same in proportion to the whole body of voters as for the Optional Referendum. The requisite number of signatures having been procured, the petition is carried to the legislature of the canton. This body must take the matter into consideration within a specified time (Solothurn, two months), and pre-

pare a completed draft in accordance with the request. It may also at the same time present an alternate proposition which expresses its own ideas of the matter, so that voters may take their choice. In any case the legislature gives an opinion on the project, as to its desirability or propriety, and the public has thus a report of its own select committee for guidance. The bill is then submitted to the voters, and on receiving the assent of a majority, and having been promulgated by the executive authority, becomes a law of the land.—J. M. Vincent, *State and Federal Gov't in Switzerland*, ch. 13.—"Between 1874 and 1886, the federal legislature passed 113 laws and resolutions which were capable of being submitted to the referendum. Of these only 19 were subjected to the popular vote, and of these last 13 were rejected and 6 adopted. The strong opposing views, which are held in Switzerland regarding the expediency of the referendum, indicate that this is one of the features of the government which is open to future discussion"—B. Moses, *The Federal Gov't of Switzerland* p. 119.—See, also, SWITZERLAND A. D. 1848-1890—"A plébiscite is a mass vote of the French people by which a Revolutionary or Imperial Executive obtains for its policy, or its crimes, the apparent sanction or condonation of France. Frenchmen are asked at the moment, and in the form most convenient to the statesmen or conspirators who rule in Paris, to say 'Aye' or 'No' whether they will, or will not, accept a given Constitution or a given policy. The crowd of voters are expected to reply in accordance to the wishes or the orders of the Executive, and the expectation always has met, and an observer may confidently predict always will meet, with fulfilment. The plébiscite is a revolutionary, or at least abnormal, proceeding. It is not preceded by debate. The form and nature of the question to be submitted to the nation is chosen and settled by the men in power. Rarely, indeed, when a plébiscite has been taken, has the voting itself been either free or fair. Taine has a strange tale to tell of the methods by which a Terrorist faction, when all but crushed by general odium, extorted from the country by means of the plébiscite a sham assent to the prolongation of revolutionary despotism. The credulity of partisanship can nowadays hardly induce even Imperialists to imagine that the plébiscites which sanctioned the establishment of the Empire, which declared Louis Napoleon President for life, which first re-established Imperialism, and then approved more or less Liberal reforms, fatal at bottom to the Imperial system, were the free, deliberate, carefully considered votes of the French nation given after the people had heard all that could be said for and against the proposed innovation. . . . The essential characteristics, however, the lack of which deprives a French plébiscite of all moral significance, are the undoubted properties of the Swiss Referendum. When a law revising the Constitution is placed before the people of Switzerland, every citizen throughout the land has enjoyed the opportunity of learning the merits and demerits of the proposed alteration. The subject has been 'threshed out,' as the expression goes, in Parliament, the scheme, whatever its worth, has received the deliberately given approval of the elected Legislature; it comes before the people with as much authority in its favour as a Bill

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which in England has passed through both Houses."—A. V. Dicey, *The Referendum*, (*Contemporary Review*, April, 1890).—"A judgment of the referendum must be based on the working of the electoral machinery, on the interest shown by the voters, and on the popular discrimination between good and bad measures. The process of invoking and voting on a referendum is simple and easily worked, if not used too often. Although the Assembly has, in urgent cases, the constitutional right to set a resolution in force at once, it always allows from three to eight months' delay so as to permit the opponents of a measure to lodge their protests against it. Voluntary committees take charge of the movement, and, if a law is unpopular, little difficulty is found in getting together the necessary thirty thousand or fifty thousand signatures. Only thrice has the effort failed when made. When, as in 1882, the signatures run up to 180,000, the labor is severe, for every signature is examined by the national executive to see whether it is attested as the sign manual of a voter; sometimes, in an interested canton, as many as 70 per cent. of the voters have signed the demand. The system undoubtedly leads to public discussion: newspapers criticise; addresses and counter addresses are issued; cantonal councils publicly advise voters; and of late the federal Assembly sends out manifestoes against pending initiatives. The federal Executive Council distributes to the cantons enough copies of the proposed measure, so that one may be given to each voter. The count of the votes is made by the Executive Council as a returning-board. Inasmuch as the Swiss are unfamiliar with election frauds, and there has been but one very close vote in the national referenda, the count is not difficult, but there are always irregularities, especially where more than one question is presented to the voters at the same time. What is the effect of the popular votes, thus carried out? The following table, based on official documents, shows the results for the twenty years, 1875-1894:

	Passed.	Rejected.	Total
(a.) Constitutional amendments proposed by the Assembly (referendum obligatory).....	1	6	7
(b.) Constitutional amendments proposed by popular initiative (50,000 signatures).....	2	1	3
(c.) Laws passed by the Assembly (referendum demanded by 30,000)...	14	6	20
	17	13	31

* One measure still pending.

Making allowances for cases where more than one question has been submitted at the same time, there have been twenty-four popular votes in twenty years. In addition, most of the cantons have their own local referenda; in Zurich, for example, in these twenty years, more than one hundred other questions have been placed before the sovereign people. These numbers are large in themselves, but surprising in proportion to the total legislation. Out of 158 general acts passed by the federal Assembly from 1874 to 1892, 27 were subjected to the referendum; that is, about one-sixth are reviewed and about one-tenth are reversed. Constitutional amendments

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usually get through sooner or later, but more than two-thirds of the statutes attacked are annulled. To apply the system on such a scale in any State of our Union is plainly impossible; thirty-nine-fourtieths of the statute-book must still rest, as now, on the character of the legislators. Nevertheless it may be worth while to excise the other fortieth, if experience shows that the people are more interested and wiser than their representatives, when a question is put plainly and simply before them. I must own to disappointment over the use made by the Swiss of their envied opportunity. On the twenty referenda between 1879 and 1891 the average vote in proportion to the voters was but 58.5 per cent.; in only one case did it reach 67 per cent.; and in one case—the patent law of 1887—it fell to about 40 per cent. in the Confederation, and to 9 per cent. in Canton Schwyz. On the serious and dangerous question of recognizing the right to employment, this present year, only about 56 per cent. participated. In Zurich there is a compulsory voting law, of which the curious result is that on both national and cantonal referenda many thousands of blank ballots are cast. The result of the small vote is that laws, duly considered by the national legislature and passed by considerable majorities, are often reversed by a minority of the voters. The most probable reason for this apathy is that there are too many elections—in some cantons as many as fifteen a year. Whatever the cause, Swiss voters are less interested in referenda than Swiss legislators in framing bills. . . . 'I am a friend of the referendum,' says an eminent member of the Executive Council, 'but I do not like the initiative.' The experience of Switzerland seems to show four things: that the Swiss voters are not deeply interested in the referendum; that the referendum is as likely to kill good as bad measures; that the initiative is more likely to suggest bad measures than good; that the referendum leads straight to the initiative. The referendum in the United States would therefore probably be an attempt to govern great communities by permanent town meeting."—Prof. A. B. Hart, *Vox Populi in Switzerland* (*Nation*, Sept. 13, 1894).

ALSO IN: A. L. Lowell, *The Referendum in Switzerland and America* (*Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1894).—E. P. Oberholtzer, *The Referendum in America*.

REFORM, Parliamentary. See ENGLAND: A. D. 1830; 1830-1832; 1835-1868, and 1884-1885.

REFORMATION: Bohemia. See BOHEMIA: A. D. 1405-1415; and 1419-1484, and after.

England. See ENGLAND: A. D. 1527-1534, to 1558-1588.

France. See PAPACY: A. D. 1521-1535; and FRANCE: A. D. 1582-1547, and after.

Germany. See PAPACY: A. D. 1516-1517, 1517, 1517-1521, 1521-1522, 1522-1525, 1525-1529, 1530-1531, 1537-1538; also GERMANY: A. D. 1517-1523, 1530-1532, 1533-1546, 1546-1552, 1552-1561; also PALATINATE OF THE RHINE: A. D. 1518-1572.

Hungary. See HUNGARY: A. D. 1528-1567.

Ireland; its failure. See IRELAND: A. D. 1535-1536.

Netherlands. See NETHERLANDS: A. D. 1521-1555, and after.

Piedmont. See SAVOY AND PIEDMONT: A. D. 1529-1580.

Scotland. See SCOTLAND. A. D. 1547-1557; 1557; 1558-1560; and 1561-1568.

Sweden and Denmark. See SCANDINAVIAN STATES. A. D. 1897-1527.

Switzerland. See PAPACY. A. D. 1519-1524, SWITZERLAND. A. D. 1528-1531, and GENEVA. A. D. 1504-1535, and 1536-1564.

REFORMATION, The Counter. See PAPACY. A. D. 1534-1540, 1537-1563, 1555-1603.

REFORMED CHURCH, The.—The Protestant church which rose in Switzerland under Zwingli (see PAPACY. A. D. 1519-1524 and SWITZERLAND. A. D. 1528-1531), and was developed and organized under Calvin (see GENEVA. A. D. 1504-1535; and 1536-1564) took the name of the Reformed Church. Under that name its organization of Protestantism prevailed in France, in the Netherlands and the Palatinate. The Presbyterian church in Scotland was substantially the same. The organization and the name were brought from Holland to the Dutch colony of New Netherland.—E. T. Corwin *Hist. of the Reformed Church, Dutch*

REGED. See CUMBRIA.

REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY, New York. See EDUCATION, MODERN. AMERICA. A. D. 1746-1787.

REGICIDES. See ENGLAND. A. D. 1660-1685, and CONNECTICUT. A. D. 1660-1664.

REGILLUS, Lake, Battle at. A battle with the Latins to which the Romans ascribed their deliverance from the last of the Tarquins.

REGNI, The. See BRITAIN, CRITIC TRIBES.

REGULATORS OF NORTH CAROLINA. See NORTH CAROLINA. A. D. 1766-1771.

REGULUS, and the Carthaginians. See PUNIC WAR, THE FIRST.

REICHSTAG. See DIET, THE GERMANIC.

REIGN OF TERROR, The. See TERROR.

REIS EFFENDI. See SUBLIME PORTE.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY. See TOLERATION.

REMONSTRANTS AND COUNTER-REMONSTRANTS. See NETHERLANDS. A. D. 1603-1619.

REMOVAL OF THE DEPOSITS. See UNITED STATES OF AM. A. D. 1833-1836.

RENAISSANCE, The.—"The word Renaissance has of late years received a more extended significance than that which is implied in our English equivalent—the Revival of Learning. We use it to denote the whole transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern World; and though it is possible to assign certain limits to the period during which this transition took place, we cannot fix on any dates so positively as to say—between this year and that the movement was accomplished. To do so would be like trying to name the days on which spring in any particular season began and ended. Yet we speak of spring as different from winter and from summer. . . . By the term Renaissance, or new birth, is indicated a natural movement, not to be explained by this or that characteristic, but to be accepted as an effort of humanity for which at length the time had come, and in the onward progress of which we still participate. The history of the Renaissance is not the history of arts, or of sciences, or of literature, or even of nations. It is the history of the attainment of self-conscious freedom by the human spirit manifested in the European races. It is no mere po-

litical mutation, no new fashion of art, no restoration of classical standards of taste. The arts and the inventions, the knowledge and the books which suddenly became vital at the time of the Renaissance, had long lain neglected on the shores of the Dead Sea which we call the Middle Ages. It was not their discovery which caused the Renaissance. But it was the intellectual energy, the spontaneous outburst of intelligence, which enabled mankind at that moment to make use of them. The force then generated still continues, vital and expansive, in the spirit of the modern world. . . . The reason why Italy took the lead in the Renaissance was, that Italy possessed a language, a favourable climate, political freedom, and commercial prosperity, at a time when other nations were still semi-barbarous.

It was . . . at the beginning of the 14th century, when Italy had lost indeed the heroic spirit which we admire in her Communes of the 13th, but had gained instead ease, wealth, magnificence, and that repose which springs from long prosperity, that the new age at last began.

The great achievements of the Renaissance were the discovery of the world and the discovery of man. Under these two formulae may be classified all the phenomena which properly belong to this period. The discovery of the world divides itself into two branches—the exploration of the globe, and the systematic exploration of the universe which is in fact what we call Science. Columbus made known America in 1492; the Portuguese rounded the Cape in 1497; Copernicus explained the solar system in 1507. It is not necessary to add anything to this plain statement.

In the discovery of man . . . it is possible to trace a twofold process. Man in his temporal relations, illustrated by Pagan antiquity, and man in his spiritual relations, illustrated by Biblical antiquity—these are the two regions, at first apparently distinct, afterwards found to be interpenetrative, which the critical and inquisitive genius of the Renaissance opened for investigation. In the former of these regions we find two agencies at work, art and scholarship. . . . Through the instrumentality of art, and of all the ideas which art introduced into daily life, the Renaissance wrought for the modern world a real resurrection of the body. . . . It was scholarship which revealed to men the wealth of their own minds, the dignity of human thought, the value of human speculation, the importance of human life regarded as a thing apart from religious rules and dogmas. . . . The Renaissance opened to the whole reading-public the treasure-houses of Greek and Latin literature. At the same time the Bible in its original tongues was rediscovered. Mines of Oriental learning were laid bare for the students of the Jewish and Arabic traditions. What we may call the Aryan and the Semitic revelations were for the first time subjected to something like a critical comparison. With unerring instinct the men of the Renaissance named the voluminous subject-matter of scholarship 'Litteræ Humaniores,' the more human literature, the literature that humanises [hence the term Humanism]. . . . Not only did scholarship restore the classics and encourage literary criticism; it also restored the text of the Bible, and encouraged theological criticism. In the wake of theological freedom followed a free philosophy, no longer subject to the dogmas of the Church. . . . On the one side

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Descartes, and Bacon, and Spinoza, and Locke are sons of the Renaissance, champions of new-found philosophical freedom; on the other side, Luther is a son of the Renaissance, the herald of new-found religious freedom."—J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy: Age of the Despots*, ch. 1.—"The Renaissance, so far as painting is concerned, may be said to have culminated between the years 1470 and 1550. These dates, it must be frankly admitted, are arbitrary; nor is there anything more unprofitable than the attempt to define by strict chronology the moments of an intellectual growth so complex, so unequally progressive, and so varied as that of Italian art. All that the historian can hope to do, is to strike a mean between his reckoning of years and his more subtle calculations based on the emergence of decisive genius in special men. An instance of such compromise is afforded by Lionardo da Vinci, who belongs, as far as dates go, to the last half of the fifteenth century, but who must on any estimate of his achievement, be classed with Michael Angelo among the final and supreme masters of the full Renaissance. To violate the order of time, with a view to what may here be called the morphology of Italian art, is, in his case, a plain duty. Bearing this in mind, it is still possible to regard the eighty years above mentioned as a period no longer of promise and preparation but of fulfillment and accomplishment. Furthermore, the thirty years at the close of the fifteenth century may be taken as one epoch in this climax of the art, while the first half of the sixteenth forms a second. Within the former falls the best work of Mantegna, Perugino, Francia, the Bellini, Signorelli, Fra Bartolommeo. To the latter we may reckon Michael Angelo, Raphael, Giorgione, Correggio, Titian, and Andrea del Sarto. Lionardo da Vinci, though belonging chronologically to the former epoch, ranks first among the masters of the latter; and to this also may be given Tintoretto, though his life extended far beyond it to the last years of the century."—The same, *Renaissance in Italy: The Fine Arts*, ch. 4-6.—"It would be difficult to find any period in the history of modern Europe equal in importance with that distinguished in history under the name of the Renaissance. Standing midway between the decay of the Middle Ages and the growth of modern institutions, we may say that it was already dawning in the days of Dante Alighieri, in whose immortal works we find the synthesis of a dying age and the announcement of the birth of a new era. This new era—the Renaissance—began with Petrarch and his learned contemporaries, and ended with Martin Luther and the Reformation, which event not only produced signal changes in the history of those nations which remained Catholic, but transported beyond the Alps the centre of gravity of European culture."—P. Villari, *Niccolo Machiavelli and his Times*, v. 1, ch. 1.—J. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Period of the Renaissance in Italy*.—On the communication of the movement to France, as a notable consequence of the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII., see ITALY: A. D. 1494-1496.—See, also, ITALY: 14TH CENTURY, and 15-16TH CENTURIES; FLORENCE: A. D. 1469-1492; VENICE: 16TH CENTURY; FRANCE: A. D. 1492-1515, and 16TH CENTURY; EDUCATION: RENAISSANCE; ENGLAND: 15-16TH CENTURIES; LIBRARIES: RENAISSANCE.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

RENÉ (called The Good), Duke of Anjou and Lorraine and Count of Provence, A. D. 1434-1480; King of Naples, A. D. 1435-1442. See ANJOU: A. D. 1306-1442.

RENSSELAER INSTITUTE. See EDUCATION, MODERN: AMERICA: A. D. 1824-1893.

RENSSELAERWICK, The Patroon colony and manor of. See NEW YORK: A. D. 1621-1646; also, LIVINGSTON MANOR.

REPARTIMIENTOS.—ENCOMIENDAS.—Columbus, as governor of Hispaniola (Hayti), made an arrangement "by which the caciques in their vicinity, instead of paying tribute, should furnish parties of their subjects, free Indians, to assist the colonists in the cultivation of their lands: a kind of feudal service, which was the origin of the repartimientos, or distributions of free Indians among the colonists, afterwards generally adopted, and shamefully abused, throughout the Spanish colonies; a source of intolerable hardships and oppressions to the unhappy natives, and which greatly contributed to exterminate them from the island of Hispaniola. Columbus considered the island in the light of a conquered country, and arrogated to himself all the rights of a conqueror, in the name of the sovereign for whom he fought."—W. Irving, *Life and Voyages of Columbus*, bk. 12, ch. 4 (v. 2).—"The words 'repartimiento' and 'encomienda' are often used indiscriminately by Spanish authors; but, speaking accurately, 'repartimiento' means the first apportionment of Indians, 'encomienda' the apportionment of any Spaniard's share which might become 'vacant' by his death or banishment."—Sir A. Helps, *Spanish Conquest in Am.*, bk. 6, ch. 2, foot-note (v. 1).—" 'Repartimiento,' a distribution: 'repartir,' to divide; 'encomienda,' a charge, a command; 'encomendar,' to give in charge; 'encomendero,' he who holds an encomienda. In Spain an encomienda, as here understood, was a dignity in the four military orders, endowed with a rental, and held by certain members of the order. It was acquired through the liberality of the crown as a reward for services in the wars against the Moors. The lands taken from the Infidels were divided among Christian commanders; the inhabitants of those lands were crown tenants, and life-rights to their services were given these commanders. In the legislation of the Indies, encomienda was the patronage conferred by royal favor over a portion of the natives, coupled with the obligation to teach them the doctrines of the Church, and to defend their persons and property. . . . The system begun in the New World by Columbus, Bobadilla, and Ovando was continued by Vasco Nuñez, Pedrarias, Cortés, and Pizarro, and finally became general."—H. H. Bancroft, *Hist. of the Pacific States*, v. 1, p. 262, foot-note.—See, also, SLAVERY, MODERN: OF THE INDIANS.

REPEAL OF THE UNION OF IRELAND WITH GREAT BRITAIN, The Agitation for. See IRELAND: A. D. 1811-1829, 1840-1841; and 1841-1848.

REPETUNDÆ. See CALPURNIAN LAW.

REPHAIM, The. See HORITES, The.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE ACT, 1834. See ENGLAND: A. D. 1834-1835.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

—"This [representative government] is the great distinction between free states of the modern

type, whether kingly or republican, and the city-commonwealths of old Greece. It is the great political invention of Teutonic Europe, the one form of political life to which neither Thucydides, Aristotle, nor Polybios ever saw more than the faintest approach. In Greece it was hardly needed, but in Italy a representative system would have delivered Rome from the fearful choice which she had to make between anarchy and despotism."—E. A. Freeman, *Hist. of Federal Gov't*, ch. 2—"Examples of nearly every form of government are to be found in the varied history of Greece; but nowhere do we find a distinct system of political representation. There is, indeed, a passage in Aristotle which implies a knowledge of the principles of representation. He speaks of 'a moderate oligarchy, in which men of a certain census elect a council entrusted with the deliberative power, but bound to exercise this power agreeably to established laws.' There can be no better definition of representation than this: but it appears to express his theoretical conception of a government, rather than to describe any example within his own experience. Such a system was incompatible with the democratic constitutions of the city republics; but in their international councils and leagues, we may perceive a certain resemblance to it. There was an approach to representation in the Amphictyonic Council, and in the Achaean League, and the several cities of the Lycian League had a number of votes in the assembly, proportioned to their size—the first example of the kind—being a still nearer approximation to the principles of representation. But it was reserved for later ages to devise the great scheme of representative government, under which large States may enjoy as much liberty as the walled cities of Greece, and individual citizens may exercise their political rights as fully as the Athenians, without the disorders and perils of pure democracy."—Sir T. E. May, *Democracy in Europe*, v. 1, ch. 3—"The most interesting, and on the whole the most successful, experiments in popular government, are those which have frankly recognised the difficulty under which it labours. At the head of these we must place the virtually English discovery of government by Representation, which caused Parliamentary institutions to be preserved in these islands from the destruction which overtook them everywhere else, and to devolve as an inheritance upon the United States."—Sir H. S. Maine, *Popular Government*, p. 92—"To find the real origin of the modern representative system we must turn to the assemblies of the second grade in the early German states. In these the freemen of the smaller locality—the Hundred or Canton—came together in a public meeting which possessed no doubt legislative power over matters purely local, but whose most important function seems to have been judicial—a local court, presided over by a chief who suggested and announced the verdict, which, however, derived its validity from the decision of the assembly, or, in later times, of a number of their body appointed to act for the whole. Those local courts, probably, as has been suggested, because of the comparatively restricted character of the powers which they possessed, were destined to a long life. On the continent they lasted until the very end of the middle ages, when they were generally over-

thrown by the introduction of the Roman law, too highly scientific for their simple methods. In England they lasted until they furnished the model, and probably the suggestion, for a far more important institution—the House of Commons. How many grades of these local courts there were on the continent below the national assembly is a matter of dispute. In England there was clearly a series of three. The lowest was the township assembly, concerned only with matters of very slight importance and surviving still in the English vestry meeting and the New England town-meeting. Above this was the hundred's court formed upon a distinctly representative principle, the assembly being composed, together with certain other men, of four representatives sent from each township. Then, third, the tribal assembly of the original little settlement, or, the small kingdom of the early conquest, seems to have survived when this kingdom was swallowed up in a larger one, and to have originated a new grade in the hierarchy of assemblies, the county assembly or shire court. At any rate, whatever may have been its origin, and whatever may be the final decision of the vigorously disputed question, whether in the Frankish state there were any assemblies or courts for the counties distinct from the courts of the hundreds, it is certain that courts of this grade came into existence in England and were of the utmost importance there. In them, too, the representative principle was distinctly expressed, each township of the shire being represented, as in the hundred's court, by four chosen representatives. These courts, also, pass essentially unchanged through the English feudal and absolutist period, maintaining local self-government and preserving more of the primitive freedom than survived elsewhere. We shall see more in detail, at a later point, how the representative principle originating in them is transferred to the national legislature, creating our modern national representative system"—G. B. Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, ch. 5.—See PARLIAMENT, THE ENGLISH.

REPRESENTATIVES AT LARGE.—When, after an increase in its number of representatives, the state has failed to redistribute its districts, the additional member or members are voted for upon a general state ticket, and are called "representatives at large."

REPRESENTATIVES, House of. See CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

REPUBLICAN PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, The earlier. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1789-1792; 1798; and 1825-1828.

The later. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1854-1855.

Liberal and Radical wings. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1872.

REPUBLICANS, Independent. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1884.

RESACA, Battle of. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1864 (MAY: GEORGIA). . . . Hood's attack on. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1864 (SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER: GEORGIA).

RESACA DE LA PALMA, Battle of. See MEXICO: A. D. 1846-1847.

RESAINA, Battle of.—A battle, fought A. D. 241, in which Sapor I. the Persian king, was

defeated by the Roman emperor Gordian, in Mesopotamia.—G. Rawlinson, *Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, ch. 4.

RESCH-GLUTHA, The.—The "Prince of the Captivity." See **JEWS** A D 200-400.

RESCISSORY, Act.—See **SCOTLAND**: A D. 1660-1666

RESCRIPTS, Roman Imperial. See **CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS**

RESEN. See **ROTENNU**, THE

RESIDENCIA.—"Residencia was the examination or account taken of the official acts of an executive or judicial officer [Spanish] during the term of his residence within the province of his jurisdiction, and while in the exercise of the functions of his office. While an official was undergoing his residencia it was equivalent to his being under arrest, as he could neither exercise office nor, except in certain cases specified, leave the place"—H H Bancroft, *Hist. of the Pacific States*, v 1, p 250, foot-note.

ALSO IN F W. Blackmar, *Spanish Institutions of the Southwest*, p 69

RESIDENT AT EASTERN COURTS, The English. See **INDIA**. A D 1877

RESTITUTION, The Edict of. See **GERMANY**. A D 1627-1629

RETENNU, The. See **ROTENNU**, THE

RETHEL, Battle of (1650). See **FRANCE** A D. 1650-1651.

RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND, The. See **PERSIA**: B C 401-400

RETZ, Cardinal De, and the Fronde. See **FRANCE**: A D 1649, to 1651-1653

REUIL, Peace of. See **FRANCE** A D. 1649.

RÉUNION. See **MARSHALL ISLANDS**

REVERE, Paul, The ride of. See **UNITED STATES OF AM.** A D 1775 (APRIL).

REVIVAL OF LEARNING. See **RENAISSANCE**

REVOLUTION, The American. See **UNITED STATES OF AM.** A D 1765, and after. The English, of 1688. See **ENGLAND**: A D. 1688.

The French, of 1789. See **FRANCE**: A D 1787-1789, and after.

The French, of 1830. See **FRANCE**: A D. 1815-1830.

The French, of 1848. See **FRANCE** A D. 1841-1848, and 1848.

REVOLUTION, The Year of. See **EUROPE** (v. 2, pp 1098-1099), **ITALY**: A D. 1848-1849; **GERMANY**: A D. 1848 (MARCH), to 1848-1850; **AUSTRIA**: A D. 1848, to 1848-1850; **HUNGARY**: A D. 1847-1849; **FRANCE**: A D. 1841-1848, and 1848.

REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL, The. See **FRANCE**: A D. 1793 (FEBRUARY-APRIL).

REYDANIYA, Battle of (1517). See **TURKS**: A D. 1481-1520.

REYNOSA, Battle of. See **SPAIN**: A D. 1808 (SEPTEMBER-DECEMBER).

RHÆTIA.—Rhætians, Vindelicians, etc.—"The Alps from the Simplicon pass to the sources of the Drave were occupied by the Rhætians. Beyond the Inn and the Lake of Constance, the plain which slopes gently towards the Danube was known by the name of Vindelicia. Styria, the Kammergut of Salzburg, and the southern half of the Austrian

Archduchy, belonged to the tribes of Noricum, while the passes between that country and Italy were held by the Carnians." The Roman conquest of this Alpine region was effected in the years 16 and 15 B. C. by the two stepsons of the Emperor Augustus, Tiberius and Drusus. In addition to the people mentioned above, the Camuni, the Vennones, the Brenni and the Genauni were crushed. "The free tribes of the eastern Alps appear then for the first time in history, only to disappear again for a thousand years"—C. Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans*, ch. 85.—See, also, **TYROL**.

Settlement of the Alemanni in. See **ALEMANNI**: A D. 496-504

RHAGES. See **RAGA**

RHEGIUM, Siege of (B. C. 387).—Rhegium, an important Greek city, in the extreme south of Italy, on the strait which separates the peninsula from Sicily, incurred the hostility of the tyrant of Syracuse, the elder Dionysius, by scornfully refusing him a bride whom he solicited. The savage-tempered despot made several attempts without success to surprise the town, and finally laid siege to it with a powerful army and fleet. The inhabitants resisted desperately for eleven months, at the end of which time (B. C. 387) they were starved into surrender. "Dionysius, on entering Rhegium, found heaps of unburied corpses, besides 6,000 citizens in the last stage of emaciation. All these captives were sent to Syracuse, where those who could provide a mina (about £3 17s) were allowed to ransom themselves, while the rest were sold as slaves. After such a period of suffering, the number of those who retained the means of ransom was probably very small"—G. Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, pt 2, ch. 83

RHEIMS: Origin of the name. See **BELGÆ**. A D. 1429.—The crowning of Charles VII. See **FRANCE**. A D. 1429-1431.

A D. 1814.—Capture by the Allies and recovery by Napoleon. See **FRANCE**. A D. 1814 (JANUARY-MARCH)

RHEINFELDEN, Siege and Battle of (1638). See **GERMANY**. A D. 1634-1639

RHETRÆ. See **SPARTA**: THE CONSTITUTION, &c.

RHINE, The Circle of the. See **GERMANY**: A D. 1493-1519.

RHINE, The Confederation of the. See **GERMANY**: A D. 1805-1806; 1806 (JANUARY-AUGUST); 1813 (OCTOBER-DECEMBER); and **FRANCE**: A D. 1814 (JANUARY-MARCH).

RHINE, Roman passage of the. See **URPATES** AND **TENTHERI**

RHINE LEAGUE, The.—The Rhine League was one of several Bunds, or confederations formed among the German trading towns in the middle ages, for the common protection of their commerce. It comprised the towns of southwest Germany and the Lower Rhine provinces. Prominent among its members were Cologne, Wessel and Munster. Cologne, already a large and flourishing city, the chief market of the trade of the Rhine lands, was a member, likewise, of the Hanseatic League (see **HANSA TOWNS**).—J. Yeats, *Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce*, p. 158.—See, also, **CITIES**, **IMPERIAL** AND **FREE**, OF **GERMANY**; and **FEDERAL GOVERNMENT**.

RHODE ISLAND.

The aboriginal inhabitants. See AMERICAN ABORIGINES: ALGONQUIAN FAMILY.

A. D. 1631-1636.—Roger Williams in Massachusetts.—His offenses against Boston Puritanism.—His banishment.—On the 5th of February, 1631, "the ship Lyon arrived at Nantasket, with twenty passengers and a large store of provisions. Her arrival was most timely, for the [Massachusetts] colonists were reduced to the last exigencies of famine. Many had already died of want, and many more were rescued from imminent peril by this providential occurrence. A public fast had been appointed for the day succeeding that on which the ship reached Boston. It was changed to a general thanksgiving. There was another incident connected with the arrival of this ship, which made it an era, not only in the affairs of Massachusetts, but in the history of America. She brought to the shores of New England the founder of a new State, the exponent of a new philosophy, the intellect that was to harmonize religious differences, and soothe the asperities of the New World; a man whose clearness of mind enabled him to deduce, from the mass of crude speculations which abounded in the 17th century, a proposition so comprehensive, that it is difficult to say whether its application has produced the most beneficial result upon religion, or morals, or politics. This man was Roger Williams, then about thirty two years of age. He was a scholar, well versed in the ancient and some of the modern tongues, an earnest inquirer after truth, and an ardent friend of popular liberty as well for the mind as for the body. As a 'godly minister,' he was welcomed to the society of the Puritans, and soon invited by the church in Salem to supply the place of the lamented Higginson, as an assistant to their pastor Samuel Skelton. The invitation was accepted, but the term of his ministry was destined to be brief. The authorities at Boston remonstrated with those at Salem against the reception of Williams. The Court at its next session addressed a letter to Mr. Endicott to this effect: 'That whereas Mr. Williams had refused to join with the congregation at Boston, because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England, while they lived there; and, besides, had declared his opinion that the magistrate might not punish the breach of the Sabbath, nor any other offence as it was a breach of the first table; therefore they marvelled that they would choose him without advising with the council, and withal desiring him, that they would forbear to proceed till they had conferred about it.' This attempt of the magistrates of Boston to control the election of a church officer at Salem, met with the rebuke it so richly merited. The people were not ignorant of the hostility their invitation had excited; yet on the very day the remonstrance was written, they settled Williams as their minister. The ostensible reasons for this hostility are set forth in the letter above cited. That they were to a great extent the real ones cannot be questioned. The ecclesiastical polity of the Puritans sanctioned this interference. Their church platform approved it. Positive statute would seem to require it. Nevertheless, we cannot but think that, underlying all this, there was a secret stim-

ulus of ambition on the part of the Boston Court to strengthen its authority over the prosperous and, in some respects, rival colony of Salem.

... As a political measure this interference failed of its object. The people resented so great a stretch of authority, and the church disregarded the remonstrance. . . . What could not as yet be accomplished by direct intervention of the Court was effected in a surer manner. The fearlessness of Williams in denouncing the errors of the times, and especially the doctrine of the magistrate's power in religion, gave rise to a system of persecution which, before the close of the summer, obliged him to seek refuge beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts in the more liberal colony of the Pilgrims. At Plymouth 'he was well accepted as an assistant in the ministry to Mr. Ralph Smith, then pastor of the church there.' The principal men of the colony treated him with marked attention. . . . The opportunities there presented for cultivating an intimate acquaintance with the chief Sachems of the neighboring tribes were well improved, and exerted an important influence, not only in creating the State of which he was to be the founder, but also in protecting all New England amid the horrors of savage warfare. Ousamequin, or Massasoit, as he is usually called, was the Sachem of the Wampanoags, called also the Pokanoket tribe, inhabiting the Plymouth territory. His seat was at Mount Hope, in what is now the town of Bristol, R. I. With this chief, the early and steadfast friend of the English, Williams established a friendship which proved of the greatest service at the time of his exile."—S. C. Arnold, *History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*, v. 1, ch. 1. —Williams "remained at Plymouth, teaching in the church, but supporting himself by manual labor, nearly two years. His ministry was popular in the main and his person universally liked. Finally, however, he advanced some opinions which did not suit the steady-going Plymouth elders, and therefore, departing 'something abruptly,' he returned to Salem. There he acted as assistant to Mr. Skelton, the aged pastor of the church, and when Mr. Skelton died, less than a year later, became his successor. At Salem he was again under the surveillance of the rulers and elders of the Bay, and they were swift to make him sensible of it. He had written in Plymouth, for the Plymouth Governor and Council a treatise on the Massachusetts Patent, in which he had maintained his doctrine that the King could not give the settlers a right to take away from the natives their land without paying them for it. He was not a lawyer but an ethical teacher, and it was doubtless as such that he maintained this opinion. In our day its ethical correctness is not disputed. It has always been good Rhode Island doctrine. He also criticised the patent because in it King James claimed to be the first Christian prince who discovered New England, and because he called Europe Christendom or the Christian World. Williams did not scruple to denounce these formal fictions in downright Saxon as lies. He does not appear to have been, at any period of his life, a paragon of conventional propriety. A rumor of the treatise got abroad, though it remained unpublished. The patent happened to be a sensitive point with the

magistrates. It had been granted in England to an English trading company, and its transfer to Massachusetts was an act of questionable legality. Moreover it was exceedingly doubtful whether the rulers, in exercising the extensive civil jurisdiction which they claimed under it, did not exceed their authority. They were apprehensive of proceedings to forfeit it, and therefore were easily alarmed at any turning of attention to it. When they heard of the treatise they sent for it, and, having got it, summoned the author 'to be censured.' He appeared in an unexpectedly placable mood, and not only satisfied their minds in regard to some of its obscure passages, but offered it since it had served its purpose, to be burnt. The magistrates, propitiated by his complaisance, appeared to have accepted the offer as equivalent to a promise of silence, though it is impossible that he, the uncompromising champion of aboriginal rights, can ever have meant to give, or even appear to give such a promise. Accordingly when they heard soon afterwards that he was discussing the patent they were deeply incensed, though it was doubtless the popular curiosity excited by their own indiscreet action which elicited the discussion. Their anger was aggravated by another doctrine then put forth by him, namely that an oath ought not to be tendered to an unregenerate, or, as we should say, an unreligious man, because an oath is an act of worship, and cannot be taken by such a man without profanation. He also taught that an oath being an act of worship, could not properly be exacted from any one against his will, and that even Christians ought not to deprecate it by taking it for trivial causes. . . . The magistrates again instituted proceedings against him, at first subjecting him to the ordeal of clerical visitation, then formally summoning him to answer for himself before the General Court. At the same time the Salem church was arraigned for contempt in choosing him as pastor while he was under question. The court, however, did not proceed to judgment, but allowed them both further time for repentance. It so happened that the inhabitants of Salem had a petition before the court for 'some land at Marblehead Neck, which they did challenge as belonging to their town.' The court, when the petition came up, refused to grant it until the Salem church should give satisfaction for its contempt, thus virtually affirming that the petitioners had no claim to justice even, so long as they adhered to their recalcitrant pastor. Williams was naturally indignant. He induced his church — 'enchanted his church,' says Cotton Mather — to send letters to the sister churches, appealing to them to admonish the magistrates and deputies of their 'heinous sin.' He wrote the letters himself. His Massachusetts contemporaries say he was 'unlamblike.' Undoubtedly they heard no gentle bleating in those letters, but rather the reverberating roar of the lion chafing in his rage. The churches repelled the appeal, and then turning to the Salem church, besieged it only the more assiduously, laboring with it, nine with one, to alienate it from its pastor. What could the one church do, — with the magistracy against it, the clergy against it, the churches and the people against it, muttering their vague anathemas, and Salem town suffering unjustly on its account, — what could it do but yield? It yielded virtually if not yet in form; and Williams stood forth

alone in his opposition to the united power of Church and State. . . . The fateful court day came at last. The court assembles, magistrates and deputies, with the clergy to advise them. Williams appears, not to be tried, but to be sentenced unless he will retract. He reaffirms his opinions. Mr. Hooker, a famous clerical dialectician, is chosen to dispute with him, and the solemn mockery of confutation begins. . . . Hour after hour, he argues unsubdued, till the sun sinks low and the weary court adjourns. On the morrow [Friday, October 9, 1635], still persisting in his glorious 'contumacy,' he is sentenced, the clergy all save one advising, to be banished, or, to adopt the apologetic but felicitous euphemism of his great adversary, John Cotton, 'enlarged' out of Massachusetts. He was allowed at first six weeks, afterwards until spring, to depart. But in January the magistrates having heard that he was drawing others to his opinion, and that his purpose was to erect a plantation about Narragansett Bay, 'from whence the infection would easily spread,' concluded to send him by ship, then ready, to England [see MASSACHUSETTS A D 1636]. The story is familiar how Williams, advised of their intent, baffled it by plunging into the wilderness, where, after being 'sorely tost for one fourteen weeks, in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean,' he settled with the opening spring, on the east bank of the Seekonk, and there built and planted. — T. Durfee, *Historical Discourse: Two hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Providence*, 1886. — The course pursued towards Roger Williams was not exceptional. What was done to him had been done in repeated instances before. Within the first year of its settlement the colony had passed sentence of exclusion from its territory upon no less than fourteen persons. It was the ordinary method by which a corporate body would deal with those whose presence no longer seemed desirable. Conceiving themselves to be by patent the exclusive possessors of the soil, — soil which they had purchased for the accomplishment of their personal and private ends, — the colonists never doubted their competency to fix the terms on which others should be allowed to share in their undertaking. . . . While there is some discrepancy in the contemporary accounts of this transaction, there is entire agreement on one point, that the assertion by Roger Williams of the doctrine of 'soul-liberty' was not the head and front of his offending. Whatever was meant by the vague charge in the final sentence that he had 'broached and divulged new and dangerous opinions, against the authority of magistrates,' it did not mean that he had made emphatic the broad doctrine of the entire separation of church and state. We have his own testimony on this point. In several allusions to the subject in his later writings, — and it can hardly be supposed that in a matter which he felt so sorely his memory would have betrayed him, — he never assigns to his opinion respecting the power of the civil magistrate more than a secondary place. He repeatedly affirms that the chief causes of his banishment were his extreme views regarding separation, and his denouncing of the patent. Had he been himself conscious of having incurred the hostility of the Massachusetts colony for asserting the great principle with which he was afterwards identified, he would

surely have laid stress upon it. . . . It is . . . clear that in the long controversy it had become covered up by other issues, and that his opponents, at least, did not regard it as his most dangerous heresy. So far as it was a mere speculative opinion it was not new. . . . To upbraid the Puritans as unrelenting persecutors, or extol Roger Williams as a martyr to the cause of religious liberty, is equally wide of the real fact. On the one hand, the controversy had its origin in the passionate and precipitate zeal of a young man whose relish for disputation made him never unwilling to encounter opposition, and on the other, in the exigencies of a unique community, where the instincts of a private corporation had not yet expanded into the more liberal policy of a body politic. If we cannot impute to the colony any large statesmanship, so neither can we wholly acquit Roger Williams of the charge of mixing great principles with some whimsical conceits. The years which he passed in Massachusetts were years of discipline and growth, when he doubtless already cherished in his active brain the germs of the principles which he afterwards developed, but the fruit was destined to be ripened under another sky. — J. L. Diman, *Orations and Essays*, pp. 114-117.

A. D. 1636.—The wanderings of the exiled Roger Williams.—His followers.—The settlement at Providence.—The little that is known of the wanderings of Roger Williams after his banishment from Salem, until his settlement at Providence, is derived from a letter which he wrote more than thirty years afterwards (June 22, 1670) to Major Mason, the hero of the Pequot War. In that letter he says: "When I was unkindly and unchristianly, as I believe, driven from my house and land and wife and children, (in the midst of a New England winter, now about thirty five years past,) at Salem, that ever honored Governor, Mr. Winthrop, privately wrote to me to steer my course to Narragansett Bay and Indians, for many high and heavenly and public ends, encouraging me, from the freedom of the place from any English claims or patents. I took his prudent motion as a hint and voice from God, and waving all other thoughts and motions, I steered my course from Salem (though in winter snow, which I feel yet) unto these parts, wherein I may say Peniel, that is, I have seen the face of God. . . . I first pitched, and began to build and plant at Seekonk, now Rehoboth, but I received a letter from my ancient friend, Mr. Winslow, then Governor of Plymouth, professing his own and others love and respect to me, yet lovingly advising me, since I was fallen into the edge of their bounds, and they were loath to displease the Bay, to remove but to the other side of the water, and then he said, I had the country free before me, and might be as free as themselves, and we should be loving neighbors together. These were the joint understandings of these two eminently wise and Christian Governors and others, in their day, together with their counsel and advice as to the freedom and vacancy of this place, which in this respect, and many other Providences of the Most Holy and Only Wise, I called Providence. . . . Some time after, the Plymouth great Sachem, (Oufamaquin,) upon occasion affirming that Providence was his land, and therefore Plymouth's land, and some resenting it, the then prudent and godly Governor, Mr. Bradford, and

others of his godly council, answered, that if, after due examination, it should be found true what the barbarian said, yet having to my loss of a harvest that year, been now (though by their gentle advice) as good as banished from Plymouth as from the Massachusetts, and I had quietly and patiently departed from them, at their motion to the place where now I was, I should not be molested and tossed up and down again, while they had breath in their bodies; and surely, between those, my friends of the Bay and Plymouth, I was sorely tossed, for one fourteen weeks, in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean, beside the yearly loss of no small matter in my trading with English and natives, being debarred from Boston, the chief mart and port of New England."—*Letters of Roger Williams*; ed. by J. R. Bartlett, pp. 335-336.—"According to the weight of authority, and the foregoing extract, when Williams left Salem he made his way from there by sea, coasting, probably, from place to place during the 'fourteen weeks' that 'he was sorely tossed,' and holding intercourse with the native tribes, whose language he had acquired, as we have before stated, during his residence at Plymouth. Dr. Dexter and Professor Diman interpret this and other references differently, and conclude that the journey must have been by land. See Dexter, p. 62, note, *Nar. Club Pub.*, Vol. II, p. 87. Perhaps the true interpretation is that the journey was partly by sea and partly by land; that is, from the coast inward—to confer with the natives—was by land, and the rest by sea."—O. S. Straus, *Roger Williams*, ch. 5, and footnote.—Mr. Rider, the well known critical student of Rhode Island history, has commented on the above passage in Mr. Straus's work as follows: "The distance from Salem by sea to Seekonk was across Massachusetts Bay, Cape Cod Bay, the Atlantic Ocean, Vineyard Sound, Buzzard's Bay, the Atlantic Ocean again, and Narragansett Bay,—a distance scarcely less than 500 miles, in and out, by the line of the coast; all of which had to be covered either in a birch bark canoe or in a shallop, if in a canoe, then to be paddled, but if in a shallop, where did Williams get it, and what became of it? history does not answer. If Williams was in a boat sailing into Narragansett Bay, 'the pleasure of the Most High to direct my steps into the Bay' would become a positive absurdity unless the Most High meant that Williams should jump overboard! He certainly could have taken no steps in a boat. But if Williams was in a boat, what sense could there be in his saying 'I was sorely tossed for one fourteen weeks, in a bitter (hyperbole again) winter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean.' Did they not have beds in boats, nor bread? As to the expression in the *Cotton Letter*, it was his soul, and not his body, which was exposed to perils, &c.; observe the quotation. . . . When Mr. Straus in his footnote, speaks of Williams's journey, 'partly by sea and partly by land, that is from the coast inward, to confer with the natives,' he is dealing solely with the imagination. No such conference ever took place."—S. S. Rider, *Roger Williams* (*Book Notes*, v. 11, p. 148).—It was the opinion of Prof. Gammell that, when Roger Williams fled from Salem, "he made his way through the forest to the lodges of the Pokanokets, who occupied the country north from Mount Hope as far as Charles River.

Ouamaguin, or Massasoit, the famous chief of this tribe, had known Mr Williams when he lived in Plymouth, and had often received presents and tokens of kindness at his hands; and now, in the days of his friendless exile, the aged chief welcomed him to his cabin at Mount Hope, and extended to him the protection and aid he required. He granted to him a tract of land on the Seekonk River, to which, at the opening of spring, he repaired, and where 'he pitched and began to build and plant' [near the beautiful bend in the river, now known as 'Manton's Cove,' a short distance above the upper bridge, directly eastward of Providence — Foot note.] At this place, also, at the same time, he was joined by a number of his friends from Salem . . . But scarcely had the first dwelling been raised . . . when he was again disturbed, and obliged to move still further from Christian neighbors and the dwellings of civilized men," as related in his letter quoted above. 'He accordingly soon abandoned the fields which he had planted, and the dwelling he had begun to build, and embarked in a canoe upon the Seekonk River, in quest of another spot where, unmolested, he might rear a home and plant a separate colony. There were five others, who, having joined him at Seekonk, bore him company.' Coasting along the stream and "round the headlands now known as Fox Point and India Point, up the harbor, to the mouth of the Mooshaucic River," he landed, and, "upon the beautiful slope of the hill that ascends from the river, he described the spring around which he commenced the first 'plantations of Providence.' It was in the latter part of June, 1636, as well as can be ascertained, that Roger Williams and his companions began the settlement at the mouth of the Mooshaucic River. A little north of what is now the centre of the city, the spring is still pointed out, which drew the attention of the humble voyagers from Seekonk. Here, after so many wanderings, was the weary exile to find a home, and to lay the foundations of a city, which should be a perpetual memorial of pious gratitude to the superintending Providence which had protected him and guided him to the spot. . . . The spot at which he had landed . . . was within the territory belonging to the Narragansetts. Canonicus, the aged chief of the tribe, and Miantonomo, his nephew, had visited the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, while Williams resided there, and had learned to regard him, in virtue of his being a minister, as one of the sachems of the English. He had also taken special pains to conciliate their good-will and gain their confidence. . . . Indeed, there is reason to believe that, at an early period after his arrival in New England, on finding himself so widely at variance with his Puritan brethren, he conceived the design of withdrawing from the colonies, and settling among the Indians, that he might labor as a missionary. . . . In all his dealings with the Indians, Mr Williams was governed by a strict regard to the rights which, he had always contended, belonged to them as the sole proprietors of the soil. . . . It was by his influence, and at his expense, that the purchase was procured from Canonicus and Miantonomo, who partook largely of the shyness and jealousy of the English so common to their tribe. He says, 'It was not thousands nor tens of thousands of money that could have bought of them an English entrance

into this bay.'"—W. Gammell, *Life of Roger Williams* (Library of Am. Biog., series 2, v. 4), ch. 6-7.

ALSO IN: S. G. Arnold, *Hist. of R. I.*, v. 1, ch. 1 and 4.—W. R. Staples, *Annals of Providence*, ch. 1.

A. D. 1636-1661.—Sale and gift of lands by the Indians to Roger Williams.—His conveyance of the same to his associates.—"The first object of Mr Williams would naturally be, to obtain from the sachems a grant of land for his new colony. He probably visited them, and received a verbal cession of the territory, which, two years afterwards, was formally conveyed to him by a deed. This instrument may properly be quoted here. 'At Narraganset, the 24th of the first month, commonly called March, the second year of the plantation or planting at Mooshaucic, or Providence [1638], Memorandum, that we, Canonicus and Miantonomo, the two chief sachems of Narraganset, having two years since sold unto Roger Williams the lands and meadows upon the two fresh rivers, called Mooshaucic and Wanasquatucket, do now, by these presents, establish and confirm the bounds of these lands, from the river and fields of Pawtucket, the great hill of Notaquoncanot, on the northwest, and the town of Mashapaug, on the west. We also in consideration of the many kindnesses and services he hath continually done for us, both with our friends of Massachusetts, as also at Connecticut, and Apaum, or Plymouth, we do freely give unto him all that land from those rivers reaching to Pawtucket river; as also the grass and meadows upon the said Pawtucket river. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands [The mark (a bow) of Canonicus. The mark (an arrow) of Miantonomo] In the presence of [The mark of Sohash. The mark of Alsomunsi]' . . . The lands thus ceded to Mr. Williams he conveyed to twelve men, who accompanied, or soon joined, him, reserving for himself an equal part only." Twenty three years later, on the 20th of December, 1661, he executed a more formal deed of conveyance to his associates and their heirs of the lands which had unquestionably been partly sold and partly given to himself personally by the Indians. This latter instrument was in the following words: "'Be it known unto all men by these presents, that I, Roger Williams, of the town of Providence, in the Narraganset Bay, in New England, having, in the year one thousand six hundred thirty-four, and in the year one thousand six hundred thirty-five had several treaties with Canonicus and Miantonomo, the two chief sachems of the Narraganset, and in the end purchased of them the lands and meadows upon the two fresh rivers called Mooshaucic and Wanasquatucket, the two sachems having, by a deed under their hands, two years after the sale thereof, established and confirmed the bounds of these lands from the rivers and fields of Pawtucket, the great hill of Notaquoncanot on the northwest, and the town of Mashapaug on the west, notwithstanding I had the frequent promise of Miantonomo, my kind friend, that it should not be land that I should want about these bounds mentioned, provided that I satisfied the Indians there inhabiting. I having made covenant of peaceable neighborhood with all the sachems and natives round about us, and having, of a sense of God's merciful Providence unto me in my distress,

called the place Providence, I desired it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience. I then considering the condition of divers of my distressed countrymen, I communicated my said purchase unto my loving friends, John Throckmorton, William Arnold, William Harris, Stukely Westcott, John Greene, Senior, Thomas Olney, Senior, Richard Waterman, and others, who then desired to take shelter here with me, and in succession unto so many others as we should receive into the fellowship and society of enjoying and disposing of the said purchase, and besides the first that were admitted, our town records declare, that afterwards we received Chad Brown, William Field, Thomas Harris, Senior, William Wickenden, Robert Williams, Gregory Dexter, and others, as our town book declares; and whereas, by God's merciful assistance, I was the procurer of the purchase, not by monies nor payment, the natives being so shy and jealous that monies could not do it, but by that language, acquaintance and favor with the natives, and other advantages, which it pleased God to give me, and also bore the charges and venture of all the gratuities, which I gave to the great sachems and other sachems and natives round about us, and lay engaged for a loving and peaceable neighborhood with them, to my great charge and travel, it was therefore thought fit by some loving friends, that I should receive some loving consideration and gratuity, and it was agreed between us, that every person, that should be admitted into the fellowship of enjoying land and disposing of the purchase, should pay thirty shillings unto the public stock, and first, about thirty pounds should be paid unto myself, by thirty shillings a person, as they were admitted, this sum I received, and in love to my friends, and with respect to a town and place of succor for the distressed as aforesaid, I do acknowledge the said sum and payment as full satisfaction, and whereas in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-seven, so called, I delivered the deed subscribed by the two aforesaid chief sachems, so much thereof as concerneth the aforementioned lands, from myself and from my heirs, unto the whole number of the purchasers, with all my power, right and title therein, reserving only unto myself one single share equal unto any of the rest of that number; I now again, in a more formal way, under my hand and seal, confirm my former resignation of that deed of the lands aforesaid, and bind myself, my heirs, my executors, my administrators and assigns, never to molest any of the said persons already received, or hereafter to be received, into the society of purchasers, as aforesaid, but that they, their heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, shall at all times quietly and peaceably enjoy the premises and every part thereof, and I do further by these presents bind myself, my heirs, my executors, my administrators and assigns never to lay any claim, nor cause any claim to be laid, to any of the lands aforementioned, or unto any part or parcel thereof, more than unto my own single share, by virtue or pretence of any former bargain, sale or mortgage whatsoever, or jointures, thirds or entails made by me, the said Roger Williams, or of any other person, either for, by, through or under me. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the twentieth day of December, in the present

year one thousand six hundred sixty one Roger Williams. . . . From this document, it appears, that the twelve persons to whom the lands, on the Moshassuck and Wanasquatucket rivers, were conveyed by Mr Williams, did not pay him any part of the thirty pounds, which he received; but that the sum of thirty shillings was exacted of every person who was afterwards admitted, to form a common stock. From this stock, thirty pounds were paid to Mr Williams, for the reasons mentioned in the instrument last quoted"—J. D. Knowles, *Memoir of Roger Williams*, ch. 8.

A. D. 1637.—The Pequot War.—"Williams was banished in 1636 and settled at Providence. The Pequot war took place the next year following. The Pequots were a powerful tribe of Indians, dwelling . . . in the valley of the Thames at the easterly end of Connecticut, and holding the lands west to the river of that name. The parties to this war were, the Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut colonies, assisted by the Narragansett and Mohegan tribes of Indians on one side, against the Pequots, single-handed, on the other. The Pequots undertook to make an alliance with the Narragansetts and the Mohegans (Hubbard's Indian Wars, 1677, p. 118), and but for Williams would have succeeded, (Narr. Club, v 6, p 269) Williams had obtained a powerful influence over Canoncus and Miantinomi, the great Sachems of the Narragansetts, (Narr. Club, v 6, p 17,) and Massachusetts having just banished him, sent at once to him to prevent if possible this alliance, (Narr. Club, v 6, p 269). By his influence a treaty of alliance was made with Miantinomi, Williams being employed by both sides as a friend, the treaty was deposited with him and he was made interpreter by Massachusetts for the Indians upon their motion, (Winthrop's Hist. N. E., 1858, v 1, p 237). The Narragansetts, the Mohegans, the Niantics, the Nipmucs, and the Cowesets, were by this treaty either neutrals or fought actively for the English in the war."—S. S. Rider, *Political results of the Banishment of Williams* (Book Notes, v 8, no 17).—See NEW ENGLAND A. D. 1637.

A. D. 1638-1640.—The purchase, the settlement, and the naming of the island.—The founding of Newport.—Early in the spring of 1638, while Mrs. Anne Hutchinson was undergoing imprisonment at Boston (see MASSACHUSETTS: A. D. 1636-1638), "Mrs. Hutchinson's husband, Coddington, John Clarke, educated a physician, and other principal persons of the Hutchinsonian party, were given to understand that, unless they removed of their own accord, proceedings would be taken to compel them to do so. They sent, therefore, to seek a place of settlement, and found one in Plymouth patent; but, as the magistrates of that colony declined to allow them an independent organization, they presently purchased of the Narragansetts, by the recommendation of Williams, the beautiful and fertile island of Aquiday [or Aquetnet, or Aquidneck]. The price was 40 fathoms of white wampum; for the additional gratuity of ten coats and twenty hoes, the present inhabitants agreed to remove. The purchasers called it the Isle of Rhodes—a name presently changed by use to Rhode Island. Nineteen persons, having signed a covenant 'to incorporate themselves into a body politic,' and to submit to 'our Lord Jesus Christ,' and to his

'most perfect and absolute laws,' began a settlement at its northern end, with Coddington as their judge or chief magistrate, and three elders to assist him. They were soon joined by others from Boston; but those who were 'of the rigid separation, and savored Anabaptism,' removed to Providence, which now began to be well peopled."—R. Hildreth, *Hist. of the U. S.*, v. 1, ch. 9.—"This little colony increased rapidly, so that in the following spring some of their number moved to the south-west part of the island and began the settlement of Newport. The northern part of the island which was first occupied was called Portsmouth. Both towns, however, were considered, as they were in fact, as belonging to the same colony. To this settlement, also, came Anne Hutchinson with her husband and family after they had been banished from Massachusetts. There is no record that in this atmosphere of freedom she occasioned any trouble or disturbance. Here she led a quiet and peaceable life until the death of her husband in 1642, when she removed to the neighborhood of New York, where she and all the members of her family, sixteen in number, were murdered by the Indians, with the exception of one daughter, who was taken into captivity. In imitation of the form of government which existed under the judges of Israel, during the period of the Hebrew Commonwealth, the two settlements, Rhode Island and Portsmouth, chose Coddington to be their magistrate, with the title of Judge, and a few months afterward they elected three elders to assist him. This form of government continued until 1640."—O. S. Straus, *Roger Williams*, ch. 6.

A. D. 1638-1647.—The Constitution of Providence Plantation.—The charter and the Union.—Religious liberty as understood by Roger Williams—"The colonists of Plymouth had formed their social compact in the cabin of the Mayflower. The colonists of Providence formed theirs on the banks of the Mooshausick. 'We, whose names are hereunder,' it reads, 'desirous to inhabit in the town of Providence, do promise to subject ourselves in active or passive obedience to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good for the body, in an orderly way, by the major assent of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together into a town fellowship, and such others as they shall admit unto them only in civil things.' Never before, since the establishment of Christianity, has the separation of Church from State been definitely marked out by this limitation of the authority of the magistrate to civil things; and never, perhaps, in the whole course of history, was a fundamental principle so vigorously observed. Massachusetts looked upon the experiment with jealousy and distrust, and when ignorant or restless men confounded the right of individual opinion in religious matters with a right of independent action in civil matters, those who had condemned Roger Williams to banishment, eagerly proclaimed that no well ordered government could exist in connection with liberty of conscience. . . . Questions of jurisdiction also arose. Massachusetts could not bring herself to look upon her sister with a friendly eye, and Plymouth was soon to be merged in Massachusetts. It was easy to foresee that there would be bickerings and jealousies, if not open contention between them. Still the

little Colony grew apace. The first church was founded in 1639. To meet the wants of an increased population the government was changed, and five disposers or selectmen charged with the principal functions of administration, subject, however, to the superior authority of monthly town meetings; so early and so naturally did municipal institutions take root in English colonies. A vital point was yet untouched. Williams, indeed, held that the Indians, as original occupants of the soil, were the only legal owners of it, and carrying his principle into all his dealings with the natives, bought of them the land on which he planted his Colony. The Plymouth and Massachusetts colonists, also, bought their land of the natives, but in their intercourse with the whites founded their claim upon royal charter. They even went so far as to apply for a charter covering all the territory of the new Colony. Meanwhile two other colonies had been planted on the shores of the Narragansett Bay: the Colony of Aquidnick, on the Island of Rhode Island, and the colony of Warwick. The sense of a common danger united them, and, in 1643, they appointed Roger Williams their agent to repair to England and apply for a royal charter. It has been treasured up as a bitter memory that he was compelled to seek a conveyance in New York, for Massachusetts would not allow him to pass through her territories. His negotiations were crowned with full success. . . . He found the King at open war with the Parliament, and the administration of the colonies entrusted to the Earl of Warwick and a joint committee of the two Houses. Of the details of the negotiation little is known, but on the 14th of March of the following year [1644], a 'free and absolute charter was granted as the Incorporation of Providence Plantations in Narragansett Bay in New England.' . . . Civil government and civil laws were the only government and laws which it recognized; and the absence of any allusion to religious freedom in it shows how firmly and wisely Williams avoided every form of expression which might seem to recognize the power to grant or to deny that inalienable right. . . . Yet more than three years were allowed to pass before it went into full force as a bond of union for the four towns. Then, in May, 1647, the corporators met at Portsmouth in General Court of Election, and, accepting the charter, proceeded to organize a government in harmony with its provisions. Warwick, although not named in the charter, was admitted to the same privileges with her larger and more flourishing sisters. This new government was in reality a government of the people, to whose final decision in their General Assembly all questions were submitted. 'And now,' says the preamble to the code, . . . 'it is agreed by this present Assembly thus incorporate and by this present act declared, that the form of government established in Providence Plantations is Democratical.'"—G. W. Greene, *Short Hist. of R. I.*, ch. 3 and 5.—"The form of government being settled, they now prepared such laws as were necessary to enforce the due administration of it; but the popular approbation their laws must receive, before they were valid, made this a work of time; however, they were so industrious in it, that in the month of May, 1647, they completed a regular body of laws, taken chiefly from the laws of England, adding a very few of their own form-

ing, which the circumstances and exigencies of their present condition required. These laws, for securing of right, for determining controversies, for preserving order, suppressing vice, and punishing offenders, were, at least, equal to the laws of any of the neighbouring colonies; and infinitely exceeded those of all other Christian countries at that time in this particular,—that they left the conscience free, and did not punish men for worshipping God in the way, they were persuaded, he required. . . . It was often objected to Mr. Williams, that such great liberty in religious matters, tended to licentiousness, and every kind of disorder: To such objections I will give the answer he himself made, in his own words [Letter to the Town of Providence, January, 1654-5]. 'Loving Friends and Neighbours, It pleaseth God yet to continue this great liberty of our town meetings, for which, we ought to be humbly thankful, and to improve these liberties to the praise of the Giver, and to the peace and welfare of the town and colony, without our own private ends. I thought it my duty, to present you with this my impartial testimony, and answer to a paper sent you the other day from my brother,—'That it is blood-guiltiness, and against the rule of the gospel, to execute judgment upon transgressors, against the private or public weal.' That ever I should speak or write a tittle that tends to such an infinite liberty of conscience, is a mistake; and which I have ever disclaimed and abhorred. To prevent such mistakes, I at present shall only propose this case.—There goes many a ship to sea, with many a hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and wo is common; and is a true picture of a commonwealth, or an human combination, or society. It hath fallen out sometimes, that both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked into one ship. Upon which supposal, I do affirm, that all the liberty of conscience that ever I pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges, that none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews, or Turks, be forced to come to the ship's prayers or worship; nor, secondly, compelled from their own particular prayers or worship, if they practise any. I further add, that I never denied that, notwithstanding this liberty, the commander of the ship ought to command the ship's course; yea, and also to command that justice, peace, and sobriety, be kept and practised, both among the seamen and all the passengers. If any seamen refuse to perform their service, or passengers to pay their freight;—if any refuse to help in person or purse, towards the common charges, or defence;—if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship, concerning their common peace and preservation;—if any shall mutiny and rise up against their commanders, and officers;—if any shall preach or write, that there ought to be no commanders, nor officers, because all are equal in Christ, therefore no masters, nor officers, no laws, nor orders, no corrections nor punishments.—I say I never denied, but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel, and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts and merits. This, if seriously and honestly minded, may, if it so please the Father of lights, let in some light, to such as willingly shut not their eyes. I remain, studious of our common peace and liberty.—Roger Williams.' This religious lib-

erty was not only asserted in words, but uniformly adhered to and practised; for in the year 1656, soon after the Quakers made their first appearance in New England, and at which most of these colonies were greatly alarmed and offended: Those at that time called the four united colonies, which were the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, wrote to this colony, to join with them in taking effectual methods to suppress them, and prevent their pernicious doctrines being spread and propagated in the country.—To this request the Assembly of this colony gave the following worthy answer: 'We shall strictly adhere to the foundation principle on which this colony was first settled; to wit, that every man who submits peaceably to the civil authority, may peaceably worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, without molestation.' And not to the people of the neighbouring governments only, was this principle owned; but it was asserted in their applications to the ruling powers in the mother country; for in the year 1659, in an address of this colony to Richard Cromwell, then lord protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, there is this paragraph,—'May it please your highness to know, that this poor colony of Providence Plantations, mostly consists of a birth and breeding of the providence of the Most High.—We being an outcast people, formerly from our mother nation, in the bishops' days; and since from the rest of the New English over-zealous colonies: Our frame being much like the present frame and constitution of our dearest mother England; bearing with the several judgments, and consciences, each of other, in all the towns of our colony.—The which our neighbour colonies do not; which is the only cause of their great offence against us.' But as every human felicity has some attendant misfortune, so the people's enjoyment of very great liberty, hath ever been found to produce some disorders, factions, and parties amongst them. . . . It must be confessed, the historians and ministers of the neighbouring colonies, in all their writings for a long time, represented the inhabitants of this colony as a company of people who lived without any order, and quite regardless of all religion; and this, principally, because they allowed an unlimited liberty of conscience, which was then interpreted to be profane licentiousness, as though religion could not subsist without the support of human laws, and Christians must cease to be so, if they suffered any of different sentiments to live in the same country with them. Nor is it to be wondered at, if many among them that first came hither, being tinctured with the same bitter spirit, should create much disturbance; nor that others, when got clear of the fear of censure and punishment should relax too much, and behave as though they were become indifferent about religion itself. With people of both these characters, the fathers of this colony had to contend. . . . In this age it seemed to be doubted whether a civil government could be kept up and supported without some particular mode of religion was established by its laws, and guarded by penalties and tests: And for determining this doubt, by an actual trial, appears to have been the principal motive with King Charles the Second, for granting free liberty of conscience to the people of this colony, by his charter of 1663,—in which

he makes use of these words: 'That they might hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil state may stand, and best be maintained, and that amongst our English subjects, with a full liberty in religious concerns. And that true piety, rightly grounded on gospel principles, will give the best and greatest security to sovereignty, and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligations to true loyalty'—Stephen Hopkins, *Historical Account of the Planting and Growth of Providence (Mass Hist Soc Coll's, 2d ser., v 9)*

ALSO IN S G Arnold, *Hist of R I*, v 1, ch 4
—Records of the Colony of R I and Providence Plantations, v 1

A. D. 1639.—The first Baptist Church.—“There can be little doubt, as to what were the religious tenets of the first settlers of Providence. At the time of their removal here, they were members of Plymouth and Massachusetts churches. Those churches, as it respects government, were Independent or Congregational, in doctrine, moderately Calvinistic and with regard to ceremonies, Pedobaptists. The settlers of Providence, did not cease to be members of those churches, by their removal, nor did the fact of their being members, constitute them a church, after it. They could not form themselves into a church of the faith and order of the Plymouth and Massachusetts churches, until dismissed from them; and after such dismissal, some covenant or agreement among themselves was necessary in order to effect it. That they met for public worship is beyond a doubt, but such meetings, though frequent and regular, would not make them a church. Among the first thirteen, were two ordained ministers, Roger Williams and Thomas James. That they preached to the settlers is quite probable, but there is no evidence of any intent to form a church, previous to March 1639. When they did attempt it, they had ceased to be Pedobaptists, for Ezekiel Holyman, a layman, had baptized Roger Williams, by immersion, and Mr. Williams afterwards had baptized Mr. Holyman and several others of the company, in the same manner. By this act they disowned the churches of which they had been members, and for this, they were soon excommunicated, by those churches. After being thus baptized, they formed a church and called Mr. Williams to be their pastor. This was the first church gathered in Providence. It has continued to the present day, and is now known as The First Baptist Church. . . . Mr. Williams held the pastoral office about four years, and then resigned the same. Mr. Holyman was his colleague. . . . A letter of Richard Scott, appended to ‘A New England Fire-Brand Quenched,’ and published about 1673, states that Mr. Williams left the Baptists and turned Seeker, a few months after he was baptized. Mr. Scott was a member of the Baptist church for some time, but at the date of this letter, had united with the Friends. According to Mr. Williams’ new views as a Seeker, there was no regularly constituted church on earth, nor any person authorized to administer any church ordinance, nor could there be, until new apostles should be sent by the Great Head of the church, for whose coming he was seeking. He was not alone in these opinions. Many in his day believed that the ministry and ordinances of the christian church were irretrievably lost, during the papal usurpation. It has been supposed,

by some, that Mr. Williams held these opinions while in Massachusetts, and that this was the reason he denied the church of England to be a true church, and withdrew from his connexion with the Salem church. Aside from the statement of Mr. Scott, above quoted, that Mr. Williams turned Seeker, after he joined the Baptists and walked with them some months, the supposition is shown to be groundless, by his administering baptism in Providence, as before stated, and joining with the first Baptist church there. These acts he could not have performed, had he then been a Seeker.”—W R Staples, *Annals of the town of Providence*, ch 7

A. D. 1641-1647.—Samuel Gorton and the Warwick Plantation.—“Among the supporters of Mrs Hutchinson, after her arrival at Aquedneck, was a sincere and courageous, but incoherent and crotchety man named Samuel Gorton. In the denunciatory language of that day he was called a ‘proud and pestilent seducer,’ or, as the modern newspaper would say, a ‘crank.’ It is well to make due allowances for the prejudice so conspicuous in the accounts given by his enemies, who felt obliged to justify their harsh treatment of him. But we have also his own writings from which to form an opinion as to his character and views. Himself a London clothier, and thanking God that he had not been brought up in ‘the schools of human learning,’ he set up as a preacher without ordination, and styled himself ‘professor of the mysteries of Christ.’ He seems to have cherished that doctrine of private inspiration which the Puritans especially abhorred. Gorton’s temperament was such as to keep him always in an atmosphere of strife. Other heresiarchs suffered persecution in Massachusetts, but Gorton was in hot water everywhere. His arrival in any community was the signal for an immediate disturbance of the peace. His troubles began in Plymouth, where the wife of the pastor preferred his teachings to those of her husband. In 1638 he fled to Aquedneck, where his first achievement was a schism among Mrs Hutchinson’s followers, which ended in some staying to found the town of Portsmouth while others went away to found Newport. Presently Portsmouth found him intolerable, flogged and banished him, and after his departure was able to make up its quarrel with Newport. He next made his way with a few followers to Pawtuxet, within the jurisdiction of Providence, and now it is the broad-minded and gentle Roger Williams who complains of his ‘bewitching and madding poor Providence.’ . . . Williams disapproved of Gorton, but was true to his principles of toleration and would not take part in any attempt to silence him. But in 1641 we find thirteen leading citizens of Providence, headed by William Arnold, sending a memorial to Boston, asking for assistance and counsel in regard to this disturber of the peace. How was Massachusetts to treat such an appeal? She could not presume to meddle with the affair unless she could have permanent jurisdiction over Pawtuxet; otherwise she was a mere intruder. . . . Whatever might be the abstract merits of Gorton’s opinions, his conduct was politically dangerous; and accordingly the jurisdiction over Pawtuxet was formally conceded to Massachusetts. Thereupon that colony, assuming jurisdiction, summoned Gorton and his men to Boston, to order their

title to the lands they occupied. They of course regarded the summons as a flagrant usurpation of authority, and instead of obeying it they withdrew to Shawomet [Warwick], on the western shore of Narragansett bay, where they bought a tract of land from the principal sachem of the Narragansetts, Miantonomo"—J. Fiske, *The Beginnings of New England*, pp 163-168—"Soon afterward, by the surrender to Massachusetts of a subordinate Indian chief, who claimed the territory . . . purchased by Gorton of Miantonomi [or Miantonomo], that Government made a demand of jurisdiction there also, and as Gorton refused their summons to appear at Boston, Massachusetts sent soldiers, and captured the inhabitants in their homes, took them to Boston, tried them, and sentenced the greater part of them to imprisonment for blasphemous language to the Massachusetts authorities. They were finally liberated, and banished, and as Warwick was included in the forbidden territory, they went to Rhode Island. Gorton and two of his friends soon afterward went to England." Subsequently, when, in 1647, the government of Providence Plantations was organized under the charter which Roger Williams had procured in England in 1644, "Warwick, whither Gorton and his followers had now returned, though not named in the charter, was admitted to its privileges"—C. Deane, *New England (Narrative and Critical History of America)*, v 3, ch 9)

A. D. 1651-1652.—Coddington's usurpation.—Second mission of Roger Williams to England.—Restoration of the Charter.—First enactment against Slavery.—In 1651, William Coddington, who had been chosen President some time before, but who had gone to England without legally entering the office, succeeded by some means in obtaining from the Council of State a commission which appointed him governor of Rhode Island and Connecticut for life, with a council of six to assist him in the government. This apparently annulled the charter of the colony. Again the colony appealed to Roger Williams to plead its cause in England and again he crossed the ocean, "obtaining a hard wrong leave to embark at Boston. In the same ship went John Clarke, as agent for the Island towns, to ask for the revocation of Coddington's commission. On the success of their application hung the fate of the Colony. Meanwhile the Island towns submitted silently to Coddington's usurpation, and the main land towns continued to govern themselves by their old laws, and meet and deliberate as they had done before in their General Assembly. It was in the midst of these dangers and dissensions that on the 19th of May, in the session of 1652, it was 'enacted and ordered . . . that no black mankind or white being forced by covenant, bond or otherwise shall be held to service longer than ten years,' and that 'that man that will not let them go free, or shall sell them any else where to that end that they may be enslaved to others for a longer time, hee or they shall forfeit to the Colonie forty pounds.' This was the first legislation concerning slavery on this continent. If forty pounds should seem a small penalty, let us remember that the price of a slave was but twenty. If it should be objected that the act was imperfectly enforced, let us remember how honorable a thing it is to have been the first to solemnly recognize a great principle. Soul liberty had borne her first fruits.

. . . Welcome tidings came in September, and still more welcome in October. Williams and Clarke . . . had obtained, first, permission for the colony to act under the charter until the final decision of the controversy, and a few weeks later the revocation of Coddington's commission. The charter was fully restored"—G. W. Greene, *Short Hist. of Rhode Island*, ch. 6

A. D. 1656.—Refusal to join in the persecution of Quakers. See MASSACHUSETTS: A. D. 1656-1661

A. D. 1660-1663.—The Charter from Charles II., and the boundary conflicts with Connecticut.—"At its first meeting after the King [Charles II.] came to enjoy his own again, the government of Rhode Island caused him to be proclaimed, and commissioned Clarke [agent of the colony in England] to prosecute its interests at court, which he accordingly proceeded to do.

He was intrusted with his suit about a year before Winthrop's arrival in England; but Winthrop [the younger, who went to England on behalf of Connecticut] had been there several months, attending to his business, before he heard anything of the designs of Clarke. His charter of Connecticut had passed through the preliminary forms, and was awaiting the great seal, when it was arrested in consequence of representations made by the agent from Rhode Island.

Winthrop, in his new charter, had used the words 'bounded on the east by the Narragansett River, commonly called Narragansett Bay, where the said river falleth into the sea.' To this identity between Narragansett River and Narragansett Bay Clarke objected, as will be presently explained. A third party was interested in the settlement of the eastern boundary of Connecticut. This was the Atherton Company, so called from Humphrey Atherton of Dorchester, one of the partners. They had bought of the natives a tract of land on the western side of Narragansett Bay; and when they heard that Connecticut was soliciting a charter, they naturally desired that their property should be placed under the government of that colony, rather than under the unstable government of Rhode Island. Winthrop, who was himself one of the associates, wrote from London that the arrangement he had made accorded with their wish. Rhode Island, however, maintained that the lands of the Atherton purchase belonged to her jurisdiction. . . . When Winthrop thought that he had secured for Connecticut a territory extending eastward to Narragansett Bay, Clarke had obtained for Rhode Island the promise of a charter which pushed its boundary westward to the Paucatuck River, so as to include in the latter colony a tract 25 miles wide, and extending in length from the southern border of Massachusetts to the sea. The interference of the charters with each other endangered both. The agents entered into a negotiation which issued, after several months, in a composition effected by the award of four arbiters. Two articles of it were material. One was that Paucatuck River should 'be the certain bounds between the two colonies, which said river should, for the future, be also called, alias, Narragansett, or Narragansett River.' The other allowed the Atherton Company to choose 'to which of those colonies they would belong.' The undesirable consequences of a dispute were thus averted; though to say that 'Paucatuck River' meant Narragansett Bay was much the same as

to give to the Thames the name of the British Channel; and if the agreement between the agents should stand, Connecticut would be sadly curtailed of her domain." On the 8th of July, 1663, "Clarke's charter, which the King probably did not know that he had been contradicting, passed the seals. It created 'a body corporate and politic, in fact and name, by the name of the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England in America.' Similar to the charter of Connecticut in grants marked by a liberality hitherto unexampled, it added to them the extraordinary provision that 'no person within the said colony, at any time thereafter, should be in anywise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any difference of opinion in matters of religion which did not actually disturb the civil peace of the said colony.' . . . Matters were now all ripe for a conflict of jurisdiction between Rhode Island and Connecticut. Using the privilege of choice secured by the compact between the agents, the Atherton Company elected to place their lands, including a settlement known by the name of Wickford, under the government of the latter colony. Rhode Island enacted that all persons presuming to settle there without her leave should be 'taken and imprisoned for such their contempt.' . . . This proved to be the beginning of a series of provocations and reprisals between the inharmonious neighbors."—J. G. Palfrey, *Compendious Hist. of N. Eng.*, bk. 2, ch. 12 (v. 2).

ALSO IN: S. S. Rider, *Book Notes*, v. 10, pp. 109-110.—S. G. Arnold, *Hist. of R. I.*, ch. 8 (v. 1).

A. D. 1674-1678.—King Philip's War. See NEW ENGLAND: A. D. 1674-1675; 1675; 1676-1678.

A. D. 1683.—Death of Roger Williams.—Estimates of his character.—Roger Williams, having given all to his colony, seems to have died without property, dependent upon his children. His son, Daniel, in a letter written in 1710, says: "He never gave me but about three acres of land, and but a little afore he deceased. It looked hard, that out of so much at his disposing, that I should have so little, and he so little. . . . If a covetous man had that opportunity as he had, most of this town would have been his tenants." "Of the immediate cause and exact time of Mr. Williams' death we are not informed. It is certain, however, that he died at some time between January 16, 1682-3, and May 10, 1683. . . . He was in the 84th year of his age."—J. D. Knowles, *Memoir of Roger Williams*, pp. 111 and 354.—"We call those great who have devoted their lives to some noble cause, and have thereby influenced for the better the course of events. Measured by that standard, Roger Williams deserves a high niche in the temple of fame, alongside of the greatest reformers who mark epochs in the world's history. He was not the first to discover the principles of religious liberty, but he was the first to proclaim them in all their plenitude, and to found and build up a political community with those principles as the basis of its organization. The influence and effect of his 'lively experiment' of religious liberty and democratic government upon the political system of our country, and throughout the civilized world, are admirably stated by Professor Gervinus in his 'Introduc-

tion to the History of the Nineteenth Century.' He says: 'Roger Williams founded in 1636 a small new society in Rhode Island, upon the principles of entire liberty of conscience, and the uncontrolled power of the majority in secular affairs. The theories of freedom in Church and State, taught in the schools of philosophy in Europe, were here brought into practice in the government of a small community. It was prophesied that the democratic attempts to obtain universal suffrage, a general elective franchise, annual parliaments, entire religious freedom, and the Miltonian right of schism would be of short duration. But these institutions have not only maintained themselves here, but have spread over the whole union. They have superseded the aristocratic commencements of Carolina and of New York, the high-church party in Virginia, the theocracy in Massachusetts, and the monarchy throughout America; they have given laws to one quarter of the globe, and, dreaded for their moral influence, they stand in the back-ground of every democratic struggle in Europe.'—O. S. Straus, *Roger Williams*, p. 233.

—"Roger Williams, as all know, was the prophet of complete religious toleration in America. . . . That as a man he was 'conscientiously contentious' I should naturally be among the last to deny; most men who contribute materially towards bringing about great changes, religious or moral, are 'conscientiously contentious.' Were they not so they would not accomplish the work they are here to do."—C. F. Adams, *Massachusetts: its Historians and its History*, p. 25.—

"The world, having at last nearly caught up with him, seems ready to vote—though with a peculiarly respectable minority in opposition—that Roger Williams was after all a great man, one of the true heroes, seers, world-movers, of these latter ages. Perhaps one explanation of the pleasure which we take in now looking upon him, as he looms up among his contemporaries in New England, may be that the eye of the observer, rather fatigued by the monotony of so vast a throng of sages and saints, all quite immaculate, all equally prim and stiff in their Puritan starch and uniform, all equally automatic and freezing, finds a relief in the easy swing of this man's gait, the limberness of his personal movement, his escape from the paste-board proprieties, his spontaneity, his impetuosity, his indiscretions, his frank acknowledgments that he really had a few things yet to learn. Somehow, too, though he sorely vexed the souls of the judicious in his time, and evoked from them words of dreadful reprobation, the best of them loved him; for indeed this headstrong, measureless man, with his flashes of Welsh fire, was in the grain of him a noble fellow; 'a man,' as Edward Winslow said, 'lovely in his carriage.' . . . From his early manhood even down to his late old age, Roger Williams stands in New England a mighty and benignant form, always pleading for some magnanimous idea, some tender charity, the rectification of some wrong, the exercise of some sort of forbearance toward men's bodies or souls. It was one of his vexatious peculiarities, that he could do nothing by halves—even in logic. Having established his major and his minor premises, he utterly lacked the accommodating judgment which would have enabled him to stop there and go no further whenever it seemed that the concluding

member of his syllogism was likely to annoy the brethren. To this frailty in his organization is due the fact that he often seemed to his contemporaries an impracticable person, presumptuous, turbulent, even seditious."—M. C. Tyler, *Hist of American Literature*, ch. 9, sect. 4

A. D. 1686.—The consolidation of New England under Governor-general Andros. See NEW ENGLAND. A. D. 1686

A. D. 1689-1701.—The charter government reinstated and confirmed. See CONNECTICUT A. D. 1689-1701

A. D. 1690.—King William's War.—The first Colonial Congress. See CANADA A. D. 1689-1690, and UNITED STATES OF AM. A. D. 1690

A. D. 1747.—The founding of the Redwood Library. See LIBRARIES, MODERN UNITED STATES OF AM

A. D. 1754.—The Colonial Congress at Albany, and Franklin's Plan of Union. See UNITED STATES OF AM A. D. 1754

A. D. 1760-1766.—The question of taxation by Parliament.—The Sugar Act.—The Stamp Act and its repeal.—The Declaratory Act.—The Stamp Act Congress. See UNITED STATES OF AM A. D. 1760-1775, 1763-1764, 1765 and 1766

A. D. 1764.—The founding of Brown University.—Brown University was founded in 1764, especially in the interest of the Baptist Church, and with aid from that denomination in other parts of the country. It was placed first at Warren, but soon removed to Providence, where it was named in honor of its chief benefactor, John Brown

A. D. 1766-1768.—The Townshend Duties.—The Circular Letter of Massachusetts. See UNITED STATES OF AM A. D. 1766-1767, and 1767-1768

A. D. 1768-1770.—The quartering of troops in Boston.—The "Massacre" and the removal of the troops. See BOSTON A. D. 1768, and 1770

A. D. 1770-1773.—Repeal of the Townshend duties, except on Tea.—Committees of Correspondence instituted.—The Tea Ships and the Boston Tea-party. See UNITED STATES OF AM. A. D. 1770, and 1772-1773, and BOSTON. A. D. 1773.

A. D. 1772.—The destruction of the Gaspé.—The first overt act of the Revolution. See UNITED STATES OF AM. A. D. 1772

A. D. 1774.—The Boston Port Bill, the Massachusetts Act, and the Quebec Act.—The First Continental Congress. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1774

A. D. 1774.—The further introduction of Slaves prohibited. See SLAVERY, NEGRO. A. D. 1774.

A. D. 1775.—The beginning of the War of the American Revolution.—Lexington.—Concord.—The country in arms and Boston beleaguered.—Ticonderoga.—Bunker Hill.—The Second Continental Congress. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1775.

A. D. 1775.—Early naval enterprises in the war. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1775-1776 BEGINNING OF THE AM. NAVY.

A. D. 1776.—Allegiance to the king renounced.—State independence declared.—The British occupation.—"The last Colonial Assembly of Rhode Island met on the 1st of May.

On the 4th, two months before the Congressional Declaration of Independence, it solemnly renounced its allegiance to the British crown, no longer closing its session with 'God save the King,' but taking in its stead as expressive of their new relations, 'God save the United Colonies'. . . The Declaration of Independence by Congress was received with general satisfaction, and proclaimed with a national salute and military display. At Providence the King's arms were burned, and the Legislature assumed its legal title, 'The State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations'. . . From the 4th of May, 1776, the Declaration of Independence of Rhode Island, to the battle of Tiverton Heights, on the 29th of August, 1778, she lived with the enemy at her door, constantly subject to invasion by land and by water, and seldom giving her watch-worn inhabitants the luxury of a quiet pillow. In November . . . a British fleet took possession of her waters, a British army of her principal island. The seat of government was removed to Providence"—G. W. Greene, *Short Hist of R. I.*, ch. 24-25—See UNITED STATES OF AM A. D. 1776-1779

A. D. 1776-1783.—The War of Independence to the end.—Peace with Great Britain. See UNITED STATES OF AM A. D. 1776, to 1783.

A. D. 1778.—Failure of attempts to drive the British from Newport. See UNITED STATES OF AM A. D. 1778 (JULY-NOVEMBER).

A. D. 1783-1790.—After the War of Independence.—Paper-money.—Opposition to the Federal Constitution.—Tardy entrance into the Union.—Rhode Island emerged from the war of independence bankrupt. "The first question was how to replenish the exhausted treasury. The first answer was that money should be created by the fiat of Rhode Island authorities. Intercourse with others was not much thought of. Fiat money would be good at home. So the paper was issued by order of the Legislature which had been chosen for that purpose. A 'respectable minority' opposed the insane measure, but that did not serve to moderate the insanity. When the credit of the paper began to fall, and traders would not receive it, laws were passed to enforce its reception at par. Fines and punishments were enacted for failure to receive the worthless promises. Starvation stared many in the face. Now it was the agricultural class against the commercial class; and the former party had a large majority in the state and General Assembly. When dealers arranged to secure trade outside the state, that they might not be compelled to handle the local paper currency, it was prohibited by act. When three judges decided that the law compelling men to receive this 'money' was unconstitutional, they were brought before that august General Assembly, and tried and censured for presuming to say that constitutional authority was higher than legislative authority. At last, however, that lesson was learned, and the law was repealed. Before this excitement had subsided the movement for a new national Constitution began. But what did Rhode Island want of a closer bond of union with other states? . . . She feared the 'bondage' of a centralized government. She had fought for the respective liberties of the other colonies, as an assistant in the struggle. She had fought for her own special, individual liberty as a matter of her own

interest. Further her needs were comparatively small as to governmental machinery, and taxation must be small in proportion; and she did not wish to be taxed to support a general government. . . . So when the call was made for each state to hold a convention to elect delegates to a Constitutional Convention, Rhode Island paid not the slightest attention to it. All the other states sent delegates, but Rhode Island sent none; and the work of that convention, grand and glorious as it was, was not shared by her. . . . The same party that favored inflation, or paper money, opposed the Constitution; and that party was in the majority and in power. The General Assembly had been elected with this very thing in view. Meanwhile the loyal party, which was found mostly in the cities and commercial centres, did all in its power to induce the General Assembly to call a convention; but that body persistently refused. Once it suggested a vote of the people in their own precincts; but that method was a failure. As state after state came into the Union, the Union party, by bonfire, parade, and loud demonstration, celebrated the event."—G. L. Harney, *How Rhode Island received the Constitution* (*New England Mag.*, May, 1890).—"The country party was in power, and we have seen that elsewhere as well as in Rhode Island, it was the rural population that hated change. The action of the other states had been closely watched and their objections noted. One thing strikes a Rhode Islander very peculiarly in regard to the adoption of the federal constitution. The people were not to vote directly upon it, but only second-hand through delegates to a state convention. No amendment to our state constitution, even at this day, can be adopted without a majority of three-fifths of all the votes cast, the voting being directly on the proposition, and a hundred years ago no state was more democratic in its notions than Rhode Island. Although the Philadelphia Convention had provided that the federal constitution should be ratified in the different states by conventions of delegates elected by the people for that purpose, upon the call of the General Assembly, yet this did not accord with the Rhode Island idea, so in February, 1788, the General Assembly voted to submit the question whether the constitution of the United States should be adopted, to the voice of the people to be expressed at the polls on the fourth Monday in March. The federalists fearing they would be out-voted, largely abstained from voting, so the vote stood two hundred and thirty-seven for the constitution, and two thousand seven hundred and eight against it, there being about four thousand voters in the state at that time. Governor Collins, in a letter to the president of Congress written a few days after the vote was taken, gives the feeling then existing in Rhode Island, in this wise:—"Although this state has been singular from her sister states in the mode of collecting the sentiments of the people upon the constitution, it was not done with the least design to give any offence to the respectable body who composed the convention, or a disregard to the recommendation of Congress, but upon pure republican principles, founded upon that basis of all governments originally derived from the body of the people at large. And although, sir, the majority has been so great against adopting the Constitution, yet the peo-

ple, in general, conceive that it may contain some necessary articles which could well be added and adapted to the present confederation. They are sensible that the present powers invested with Congress are incompetent for the great national government of the Union, and would heartily acquiesce in granting sufficient authority to that body to make, exercise and enforce laws throughout the states, which would tend to regulate commerce and impose duties and excise, whereby Congress might establish funds for discharging the public debt." A majority of the voters of the country was undoubtedly against the constitution, but convention after convention was carried by the superior address and management of its friends. Rhode Island lacked great men, who favored the constitution, to lead her. . . . The requisite number of states having ratified the constitution, a government was formed under it April 30, 1789. Our General Assembly, at its September session in that year, sent a long letter to Congress explanatory of the situation in Rhode Island, and its importance warrants my quoting a part of it. "The people of this state from its first settlement," ran the letter, "have been accustomed and strongly attached to a democratical form of government. They have viewed in the new constitution an approach, though perhaps but small, toward that form of government from which we have lately dissolved our connection at so much hazard and expense of life and treasure,—they have seen with pleasure the administration thereof from the most important trusts downward, committed to men who have highly merited and in whom the people of the United States place unbounded confidence. Yet, even on this circumstance, in itself so fortunate, they have apprehended danger by way of precedent. Can it be thought strange, then, that with these impressions, they should wait to see the proposed system organized and in operation, to see what further checks and securities would be agreed to and established by way of amendments, before they would adopt it as a constitution of government for themselves and their posterity?" . . . Rhode Island never supposed she could stand alone. In the words of her General Assembly in the letter just referred to:—"They know themselves to be a handful, comparatively viewed." This letter, as well as a former one I have quoted from, showed that she, like New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, and North Carolina, hoped to see the constitution amended. Like the latter state she believed in getting the amendments before ratification, and so strong was the pressure for amendments that at the very first session of Congress a series of amendments was introduced and passed for ratification by the states, and Rhode Island, though the last to adopt the constitution, was the ninth state to ratify the first ten amendments to that instrument now in force; ratifying both constitution and amendments at practically the same time. One can hardly wonder at the pressure for amendments to the original constitution when the amendments have to be resorted to for provisions that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free use thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances; that excessive bail should not be

required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted; for right of trial by jury in civil cases; and for other highly important provisions."—H. Rogers, *Rhode Island's Adoption of the Federal Constitution* (R. I. Hist. Soc., 1890).—The convention which finally accepted for Rhode Island and ratified the federal constitution met at South Kingston, in March, 1790, then adjourned to meet at Newport in May, and there completed its work. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1787, and 1787-1789.

A. D. 1814.—The Hartford Convention. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1814 (DECEMBER) THE HARTFORD CONVENTION.

A. D. 1841-1843.—The Dorr Rebellion.—The old Charter replaced by a State Constitution.—The old colonial charter of Rhode Island remained unchanged until 1843. Its property qualification of the right of suffrage, and the inequality of representation in the legislature which became more flagrant as the state and its cities increased in population, became causes of great popular discontent. The legislature turned a deaf ear to all demands for a democratic basis of government, and in 1841 a serious attempt was made by a resolute party to initiate and carry through a revision of the constitution independently of legislative action. A convention was held in October of that year which framed a constitution and submitted it to the vote of the people. It was adopted by a majority of the votes cast, and, in accordance with its provisions, an election was held the following April. Thomas Wilson Dorr was chosen Governor, and on the 3d of May, 1842, the new government was formally inaugurated by its supporters at Providence, where they were in the majority. "If Mr. Dorr and his officers, supported by the armed men then at their command, had taken possession of the State House, Arsenal, and other state property, and acted as if they had confidence in themselves and their cause, the result might have been different. This was the course desired and advocated by Mr. Dorr, but he was overruled by more timid men, who dared go just far enough to commit themselves, disturb the peace of the state, and provoke the Law and Order government, but not far enough to give themselves a chance of success. While the People's government was being organized in Providence, the regularly elected General Assembly met on the same day at Newport, inaugurated the officers as usual, and passed resolutions declaring that an insurrection existed in the state and calling on the President for aid, which was . . . declined with good advice as to amnesty and concession, which was not heeded. On the following day a member of the People's legislature was arrested under the Algerine law, and this arrest was followed by others, which in turn produced a plentiful crop of resignations from that body. . . . At the request of his legislature, Mr. Dorr now went to Washington and unsuccessfully tried to secure the aid and countenance of President Tyler. . . . During Mr. Dorr's absence, both parties were pushing on military preparations. . . . The excitement at this time was naturally great, though many were still inclined to ridicule the popular fears, and the wildest rumors filled the air." On the 18th, the Dorr party made an attempt to gain possession of the state arsenal, but it failed rather

ignominiously, and Dorr himself fled to Connecticut. One more abortive effort was made, by others less sagacious than himself, to rally the supporters of the Constitution, in an armed camp, formed at Chepachet; but the party in power confronted it with a much stronger force, and it dispersed without firing a gun. This was the end of the "rebellion." "In June, 1842, while the excitement was still at its height, the General Assembly had called still another convention, which met in September and . . . framed the present constitution, making an extension of the suffrage nearly equivalent to that demanded by the suffrage party previous to 1841. In November this constitution was adopted, and in May, 1843, went into effect with a set of officers chosen from the leaders of the Landholders' party, the same men who had always ruled the state. . . . Early in August, Governor Dorr, who had remained beyond the reach of the authorities, against his own will and in deference to the wishes of his friends who still hoped, issued an address explaining and justifying his course and announcing that he should soon return to Rhode Island. Accordingly, on October 31, he returned to Providence, without concealment, and registered himself at the principal hotel. Soon afterwards, he was arrested and committed to jail, without bail, to await trial for treason. . . . The spirit in which this trial was conducted does no credit to the fairness or magnanimity of the court or of the Law and Order party. Under an unusual provision of the act, although all Dorr's acts had been done in Providence County, he was tried in Newport, the most unfriendly county in the state. . . . Every point was ruled against Mr. Dorr, and the charge to the jury, while sound in law, plainly showed the opinion and wishes of the court. It was promptly followed by a verdict of guilty, and on this verdict Mr. Dorr, on June 25, just two years from his joining the camp at Chepachet, was sentenced to imprisonment for life. . . . Declining an offer of liberation if he would take the oath to support the new constitution, Mr. Dorr went to prison and remained in close confinement until June, 1845, when an act of amnesty was passed, and he was released. A great concourse greeted him with cheers at the prison gates, and escorted him with music and banners to his father's house, which he had not entered since he began his contest for the establishment of the People's constitution. The newspapers all over the country, which favored his cause, congratulated him and spoke of the event as an act of tardy justice to a martyr in the cause of freedom and popular rights. . . . But Mr. Dorr's active life was over. He had left the prison broken in health and visibly declining to his end. The close confinement, dampness, and bad air had shattered his constitution, and fixed upon him a disease from which he never recovered. He lived nine years longer but in feeble health and much suffering."—C. H. Payne, *The Great Dorr War* (New England Mag., June, 1890).

ALSO IN: D. King, *Life and Times of Thomas Wilson Dorr*.

A. D. 1888.—Constitutional Amendment.—The qualification of the Suffrage.—"The adoption of the Amendment to the Constitution of Rhode Island, at the recent election, relating to the elective franchise, brings to a close a political struggle which began in earnest in 1819. Hence

It has been in progress about 80 years. It makes, or will ultimately make, great political changes here. . . . It may not be inopportune, upon the consummation of so great a political change, to note briefly some of the steps by which the change came to pass. . . . The qualifications of electors was not defined by the charter. That power was given to the General Assembly. A property qualification was first introduced into the laws in 1665, and has ever since been and now is in part retained. It was not at first specified to be land, but men of competent estates, without regard to the species of property, 'may be admitted to be freemen.' Even so accurate a scholar as the late Judge Potter, has erred in his statement of the case. He says that by the act of March, 1663-4, all persons were required to be of 'competent estate.' This is not correct. The proposition was made two years subsequent to the establishment of the charter, and was made by the King of England, and sent by him by commissioners to Rhode Island and was then adopted and enacted by the General Assembly. . . . This qualification was made to depend only on land, by the act of the General Assembly of February 1723-4, and was a purely Rhode Island measure (Digest, of R. I., 1730, p. 110). From that time until the present, covering a period of nearly 165 years, this qualification has in some measure remained. The value was then (in 1723) fixed at £100, and practically, it was never changed. It was raised or lowered from time to time to meet the fluctuation of paper money. Sometimes it was in 'old tenor' and sometimes in 'lawful money,' both of which were in paper, and reckoned usually in pounds, shillings and pence. In 1760, the amount was £40 lawful money. In 1763 'lawful money' was defined to be gold or silver. After the decimal system came into use, the mode of reckoning was changed into dollars. Thus in £40 are 800 shillings, which at six shillings to the dollar, which was then New England currency, is equal to \$133.33; by the law of 1798 the sum was made \$134, and so it has always since remained, and so under the recent amendment it remains as a qualification of an elector, who can vote on a question of expenditure, or the levying of a tax. . . . There was practically no change in the qualifications required of a man to become an elector from the earliest times down to 1842. In 1819 a serious attempt was made to obtain a constitution. A convention was called and a constitution was framed and submitted to the people, that is, to the Freemen, for adoption; but the General Assembly enacted that a majority of three-fifths should be required for its adoption. This was the origin of the three-fifth restriction in the present constitution. It did not enlarge the suffrage; a proposition to that end received only 3 votes against 61, nor was it of any general benefit, and it was as well that it failed. The political disabilities of men were confined to two classes, to wit: The second son, and other younger sons of freemen, and those other native American citizens of other states who had moved into Rhode Island, and therein acquired a residence. To these two classes, although possessed of abundant personal property, and upon which the state levied and collected taxes, and from whom the state exacted military service, the right to vote was denied, because among their

possessions there was no land. It was taxation without representation, the very principle upon which the Revolution had been fought. In 1838 more than one-half the taxes paid in Providence were paid by men who could not vote upon any question. In 1830, in North Providence, there were 200 freemen and 579 native men, over twenty-one years, who were disfranchised. . . . There were in 1833 five men in Pawtucket who had fought the battles for Rhode Island through the Revolution, but who, possessing no land, had never been able to vote upon any question. . . . In another respect a great wrong was done. It was in the representation of the towns in the General Assembly. Jamestown had a representative for every eighteen freemen. Providence, one to every 275. Smithfield, one in every 206. Fifty dollars in taxes, in Barrington, had the same power in the representation that \$750 had in Providence. The minority of legal voters actually controlled the majority. . . . Such then was the political condition of men in Rhode Island in 1830. There were about 8,000 Freemen and about 13,000 unenfranchised Americans with comparatively no naturalized foreigners among them. The agitation of the question did not cease. In 1829 it was so violent that the General Assembly referred the question to a committee, of which Benjamin Hazard was the head, and which committee made a report, always since known as Hazard's Report, which it was supposed would quiet forever the agitation. But it did not; for five years later a convention was called and a portion of a constitution framed. The question of foreigners was first seriously raised by Mr. Hazard in this report. By this term Mr. Hazard intended not only citizens of countries outside of the United States, but he intended American citizens of other American States. He would deny political rights to a man born in Massachusetts, who came to dwell in Rhode Island, in the same way that he would deny them to a Spaniard. A Massachusetts man must live here one year, the Spaniard three, but both must own land. These ideas were formulated in the constitution of 1834 as far as it went. . . . Fortunately it fell through and by the most disgraceful of actions; and its history when written will form one of the darkest chapters in Rhode Island history. This discrimination against foreign born citizens, that is, men born in countries outside of the United States, became more pointed in the proposed Landholders' Constitution of November 1841. A native of the United States could vote on a land qualification, or if he paid taxes upon other species of property. A foreigner must own land and he could not vote otherwise. This Constitution was defeated. Then came the People's Constitution, (otherwise known as the Dorr Constitution). It made no restrictions upon foreigners; it admitted all citizens of the United States upon an equal footing; negroes were excluded in both documents. This Constitution never went into effect. Then came the present Constitution, adopted in September, 1843, by which all the disabilities complained of were swept away with the exception of the discrimination in the case of foreigners. By it negroes were admitted, but foreigners were required to hold lands, as all the various propositions had provided with the single exception of the People's Constitution. Now comes the amendment recently adopted, and parallel

with it I have reproduced the section relating to the same matter from the People's Constitution:

Qualification of Electors under Amendment (Bourn) to Constitution, adopted April, 1888.

Section 1 Every male citizen of the United States of the age of 21 years, who has had his residence and home in this State for two years, and in the town or city in which he may offer to vote six months next preceding the time of his voting and whose name shall be registered in the town or city where he resides on or before the last day of Dec., in the year next preceding to the time of his voting, shall have a right to vote in the election of all civil officers and on all questions in all legally organized town or

Qualification of Electors under the People's (Dorr) Constitution, 1842

Section 1 Every white male citizen of the United States of the age of twenty-one years who has resided in this State for one year, and in any town or city or district of the same for six months next preceding the election at which he offers to vote, shall be an elector of all officers, who are elected or may hereafter be made eligible by the people * *

Sec 4 No elector who is not possessed of and assessed for ratable property in his own right to the amount of one hundred and fifty dollars or who shall have neglected, or re-

ward meetings: Provided, that no person shall at any time be allowed to vote in the election of the City Council of any city, or upon any proposition to impose a tax, or for the expenditure of money in any town or city, unless he shall within the year next preceding have paid a tax assessed upon his property therein, valued at least at one hundred and thirty-four dollars.

assessed upon him in any town or city or district, for one year preceding the * * meeting at which he shall offer to vote, shall be entitled to vote on any question of taxation, or the expenditure of any public moneys * *

Sec 7 There shall be a strict registration of all qualified voters * * * and no person shall be permitted to vote whose name has not been entered upon the list of voters before the polls are opened.

It thus appears that the people of Rhode Island have at last adopted an amendment to the Constitution, more liberal in its qualifications of electors, than the terms asked by Mr Dorr, in 1842.

All that was asked by Mr Dorr, and even by those of his party, more radical than himself, has been granted, and even more. And yet they were denounced with every species of vile epithet as Free Suffrage Men"—S S Rider, *The End of a great Political Struggle in Rhode Island* (Book Notes, v 5, pp 53-57).

RHODES.—The island of Rhodes with its picturesque capital city identical in name lying in the Aegean Sea, near the southwestern corner of Asia Minor, has a place alike notable in the history of ancient and medieval times, hardly less of a place, too, in prehistoric legends and myths. It has been famed in every age for a climate almost without defect. Among the ancients its Doric people [see ASIA MINOR THE GREEK COLONIES] were distinguished for their enterprise in commerce, their rare probity, their courage, their refinement, their wealth, their liberality to literature and the arts. In the middle ages all this had disappeared, but the island and the city had become the seat of the power of the Knights of St John—the last outpost of European civilization in the east, held stoutly against the Turks until 1522. The unsuccessful siege of Rhodes, B. C. 305 or 304, by Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, was one of the great events of ancient military history. It "showed not only the power but the virtues of this merchant aristocracy. They rebuilt their shattered city with great magnificence. They used the metal of Demetrius's abandoned engines for the famous Colossus [see below], a bronze figure of the sun about 100 feet high, which, however, was thrown down and broken by the earthquake of B. C. 227, and lay for centuries near the quays, the wonder of all visitors. . . . It is said that the Saracens sold the remnants of this statue for old metal when they captured Rhodes. . . . It was doubtless during the same period that Rhodes perfected that system of marine mercantile law which was accepted not only by all Hellenistic states, but acknowledged by the Romans down to the days of the empire. . . . We do not know what the detail of their mercantile system was, except that it was worked by means of an active police squadron, which put down piracy, or confined it to shipping out-

side their confederacy, and also that their persistent neutrality was only abandoned when their commercial interests were directly attacked. In every war they appear as mediators and peace makers. There is an allusion in the 'Mercator of Plautus to young men being sent to learn business there, as they are now sent to Hamburg or Genoa. The wealth and culture of the people, together with the stately plan of their city, gave much excitement and scope to artists in bronze and marble as well as to painters, and the names of a large number of Rhodian artists have survived on the pedestals of statues long since destroyed. But two famous works—whether originals or copies seems uncertain—still attest the genius of the school, the 'Laocoon,' now in the Vatican, and the 'Toro Farnese'."—J P Mahaffy, *Story of Alexander's Empire*, ch 20 with foot-note.

B. C. 412.—Revolt from Athens. See GREECE. B C 413-412.

B. C. 378-357.—In the new Athenian Confederacy.—Revolt and secession.—The Social War. See ATHENS B C. 378-357.

B. C. 305-304.—Siege by Demetrius Poliorcetes.—(One of the memorable sieges of antiquity was that in which the brave, free citizens of Rhodes held their splendid town (B. C. 305) for one whole year against the utmost efforts of Demetrius, called Poliorcetes, or "the Besieger," son of Antigonus, the would-be successor of Alexander (see MACEDONIA: B. C. 310-301). Demetrius was a remarkable engineer, for his age and constructed machinery for the siege which was the wonder of the Grecian world. His masterpiece was the Helepolis, or "city-taker,"—a wooden tower, 150 feet high, sheathed with iron, travelling on wheels and moved by the united strength of 3,400 men. He also assailed the walls of Rhodes with battering rams, 150 feet long, each driven by 1,000 men. But

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all his ingenious appliances failed and he was forced in the end to recognize the independence of the valiant Rhodians.—C. Torr, *Rhodes in Ancient Times*, pp. 13-14, 44.

ALSO IN: C. Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, ch. 59.

B. C. 191.—Alliance with Rome.—War with Antiochus the Great.—Acquisition of territory in Caria and Lycia. See **SELEUCIDÆ**: B. C. 224-187.

B. C. 88.—Besieged by Mithridates.—At the beginning of his first war with the Romans, B. C. 88, Mithridates made a desperate attempt to reduce the city of Rhodes, which was the faithful ally of Rome. But the Rhodians repelled all his assaults, by sea and by land, and he was forced to abandon the siege.—G. Long, *Decline of the Roman Republic*, v. 2, ch. 20.

A. D. 1310.—Conquest and occupation by the Knights Hospitallers of St. John. See **HOSPITALLERS OF ST. JOHN**: A. D. 1310.

A. D. 1480.—Repulse of the Turks. See **TURKS (THE OTTOMANS)**: A. D. 1451-1481.

A. D. 1522.—Siege and conquest by the Turks.—Surrender and withdrawal of the Knights of St. John. See **HOSPITALLERS OF ST. JOHN**: A. D. 1522.

RHODES, The Colossus of.—"In the elementary works for the instruction of young people, we find frequent mention of the Colossus of Rhodes. The statue is always represented with gigantic limbs, each leg resting on the enormous rocks which face the entrance to the principal port of the Island of Rhodes; and ships in full sail passed easily, it is said, between its legs; for, according to Pliny the ancient, its height was 70 cubits. This Colossus was reckoned among the seven wonders of the world, the six others being, as is well known, the hanging gardens of Babylon, devised by Nitocris, wife of Nebuchadnezzar; the pyramids of Egypt; the statue of Jupiter Olympus; the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus; the temple of Diana at Ephesus; and the Pharos of Alexandria, completely destroyed by an earthquake in 1303. Nowhere has any authority been found for the assertion that the Colossus of Rhodes spanned the entrance to the harbour of the island and admitted the passage of vessels in full sail between its wide-stretched limbs. . . . The following is the real truth concerning the Colossus." After the abandonment of the siege of Rhodes, in 305, by Demetrius Poliorcetes, "the Rhodians, inspired by a sentiment of piety, and excited by fervent gratitude for so signal a proof of the divine favour, commanded Chares to erect a statue to the honour of their deity [the sun-god Helios]. An inscription explained that the expenses of its construction were defrayed out of the sale of the materials of war left by Demetrius on his retreat from the island of Rhodes. This statue was erected on an open space of ground near the great harbour, and near the spot where the pacha's scraglio now stands; and its fragments, for many years after its destruction, were seen and admired by travellers."—O. Delepiere, *Historical Difficulties*, ch. 1.

RHODES, Knights of.—During their occupation of the island, the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem were commonly called Knights of Rhodes, as they were afterwards called Knights of Malta. See **HOSPITALLERS OF ST. JOHN**.

RIENZI'S REVOLUTION.

RI, The.—"The Ri or king, who was at the head of the tribe [the 'tuath,' or tribe, in ancient Ireland], held that position not merely by election, but as the representative in the senior line of the common ancestor, and had a hereditary claim to their obedience. As the supreme authority and judge of the tribe he was the Ri or king. This was his primary function. . . . As the leader in war he was the 'Toisech' or Captain."—W. F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, v. 3, p. 140. —See, also, **TUATH, THE**.

RIALTO: Made the seat of Venetian government. See **VENICE**: A. D. 897-810.

RIBBON SOCIETIES.—**RIBBONISM**. See **IRELAND**: A. D. 1820-1826.

RIBCHESTER, Origin of. See **COCCUM**.

RICH MOUNTAIN, Battle of. See **UNITED STATES OF AM.**: A. D. 1861 (JUNE—JULY: WEST VIRGINIA).

RICHARD (of Cornwall), King of Germany, A. D. 1256-1271. . . . Richard I. (called Cœur de Leon), King of England, 1189-1199. . . . Richard II. King of England, 1377-1399. . . . Richard III. King of England, 1483-1485.

RICHBOROUGH, England, Roman origin of. See **RUTUPÆ**.

RICHELIEU, The Ministry of. See **FRANCE**: A. D. 1610-1619, to 1642-1643.

RICHMOND, Va.: Powhatan's residence. See **AMERICAN ABORIGINES: POWHATAN CONFEDERACY**.

A. D. 1781.—Lafayette's defense of the city. See **UNITED STATES OF AM.**: A. D. 1781 (JANUARY—MAY).

A. D. 1861.—Made the capital of the Southern Confederacy. See **VIRGINIA**: A. D. 1861 (JULY).

A. D. 1862.—McClellan's Peninsular Campaign against the Confederate capital. See **UNITED STATES OF AM.**: A. D. 1862 (MARCH—MAY: VIRGINIA); (MAY: VIRGINIA); (JUNE: VIRGINIA); (JUNE—JULY: VIRGINIA); and (JULY—AUGUST: VIRGINIA).

A. D. 1864 (March).—Kilpatrick's and Dahlgren's Raid. See **UNITED STATES OF AM.**: A. D. 1864 (FEBRUARY—MARCH: VIRGINIA).

A. D. 1864 (May).—Sheridan's Raid to the city lines. See **UNITED STATES OF AM.**: A. D. 1864 (MAY: VIRGINIA) SHERIDAN'S RAID.

A. D. 1865 (April).—Abandonment by the Confederate army and government.—Destructive conflagration.—President Lincoln in the city. See **UNITED STATES OF AM.**: A. D. 1865 (APRIL: VIRGINIA).

RICIMER, Count, and his Roman imperial puppets. See **ROME**: A. D. 455-476.

RICOS HOMBRES, of Aragon. See **CORTES, THE EARLY SPANISH**.

RIDGEWAY, Battle of. See **CANADA**: A. D. 1866-1871.

RIDINGS OF YORKSHIRE.—The name Ridings is a corruption of the word Trithings, or 'Thirds,' which was applied to the large divisions of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire (England) in the time of the Angles.—T. P. Taswell-Langmead, *English Const. Hist.*, ch. 1, note.

RIEL'S REBELLION. See **CANADA**: A. D. 1869-1873.

RIENZI'S REVOLUTION. See **ROME**: A. D. 1847-1854.

RIGA.

RIGA: A. D. 1621.—Siege and capture by Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. See SCANDINAVIAN STATES (SWEDEN): A. D. 1611-1629.

A. D. 1700.—Unsuccessful siege by the King of Poland. See SCANDINAVIAN STATES (SWEDEN): A. D. 1697-1700.

"RIGHT," "LEFT," AND "CENTER," The.—In France, and several other continental European countries, political parties in the legislative bodies are named according to the positions of the seats which they occupy in their respective chambers. The extreme conservatives gather at the right of the chair of the presiding officer, and are known, accordingly, as "The Right." The extreme radicals similarly collected on the opposite side of the chamber, are called "The Left." Usually, there is a moderate wing of each of these parties which partially detaches itself and is designated, in one case, "The Right Center," and in the other, "The Left Center", while, midway between all these divisions, there is a party of independents who take the name of "The Center."

RIGHT OF SEARCH, The. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1804-1809, and 1812.

RIGHTS, Declaration and Bill of. See ENGLAND: A. D. 1689 (JANUARY-FEBRUARY), and (OCTOBER).

RIGSDAG, The.—The legislative assembly of Denmark and Sweden. See SCANDINAVIAN STATES (DENMARK-ICELAND): A. D. 1849-1874, and CONSTITUTION OF SWEDEN.

RIGSRET. See CONSTITUTION OF NORWAY.

RIGVEDA, The. See INDIA: THE IMMIGRATION AND CONQUESTS OF THE ARYAS.

RIMINI, Origin of the city. See ROME: B. C. 295-191.

The Malatesta family. See MALATESTA FAMILY.

A. D. 1275.—Sovereignty of the Pope confirmed by Rodolph of Hapsburg. See GERMANY: A. D. 1273-1308.

RIMMON.—"The name of Rimmon, which means 'pomegranate,' occurs frequently in the topography of Palestine, and was probably derived from the culture of this beautiful tree."—J. Kenrick, *Phœnicia*, ch. 2.

RIMNIK, Battle of (1789). See TURKS: A. D. 1776-1792.

RINGGOLD, Battle of. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1863 (OCTOBER-NOVEMBER: TENNESSEE).

RINGS OF THE AVARS. See AVARS, RINGS OF THE.

RIOTS, Draft. See NEW YORK: A. D. 1863.

RIPON, Lord, The Indian administration of. See INDIA: A. D. 1880-1893.

RIPON, Treaty of. See ENGLAND: A. D. 1640.

RIPUARIAN FRANKS, The. See FRANKS.

RIPUARIANS, Law of the.—"On the death of Clovis, his son, Theodoric, was king of the eastern Franks; that is to say, of the Riparian Franks; he resided at Metz. To him is generally attributed the compilation of their law. . . . According to this tradition, then, the law of the Riparians should be placed between the years 511 and 534. It could not have, like the Salic, the pretension of ascending to the right-hand

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bank of the Rhine, and to ancient Germany. . . . I am inclined to believe that it was only under Dagobert I., between the years 628 and 638, that it took the definite form under which it has reached us."—F. Guizot, *Hist. of Civilization*, v. 2 (France, v. 1), lect. 10.

RIVOLI, Battle of (1797). See FRANCE: A. D. 1796-1797 (OCTOBER-APRIL).

ROAD OF THE SWANS, The. See NORMANS: NAME AND ORIGIN.

ROANOKE: A. D. 1585-1590.—The first attempts at English settlement in America.—The lost colony. See AMERICA: A. D. 1584-1586; and 1587-1590.

A. D. 1862.—Capture by Burnside's Expedition. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1862 (JANUARY-APRIL: NORTH CAROLINA).

ROBE, La Noblesse de la. See PARLIAMENT OF PARIS.

ROBERT, Latin Emperor at Constantino-ple (Romania), A. D. 1221-1228. . . . Robert, King of Naples, 1309-1343. . . . Robert I., King of France, 922-923. . . . Robert I. (Bruce), King of Scotland, 1306-1329. . . . Robert II., King of France, 996-1031. . . . Robert II. (first of the Stuarts), King of Scotland, 1370-1390. . . . Robert III., King of Scotland, 1390-1406.

ROBERTSON, James, and the early settlement of Tennessee. See TENNESSEE: A. D. 1769-1772, to 1785-1796.

ROBESPIERRE, and the French Revolution. See FRANCE: A. D. 1789 (AUGUST-OCTOBER), to 1794 (JULY).

ROBINSON, John, and his Congregation. See INDEPENDENTS: A. D. 1604-1617; and MASSACHUSETTS: A. D. 1620.

ROBOGDII, The. See IRELAND, TRIBES OF EARLY CELTIC INHABITANTS.

ROCCA SECCA, Battle of (1411). See ITALY (SOUTHERN): A. D. 1386-1414.

ROCHAMBEAU, Count de, and the War of the American Revolution. See UNITED STATES OF AM.: A. D. 1780 (JULY), 1781 (JANUARY-MAY); 1781 (MAY-OCTOBER).

ROCHDALE SOCIETY (Cooperative). See SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: A. D. 1816-1886.

ROCHELLE: Early Importance.—Expulsion of the English.—Grant of Municipal independence.—Rochelle had always been one of the first commercial places of France; it was well known to the English under the name of the White Town, as they called it, from its appearance when the sun shone and was reflected from its rocky coasts. It was also much frequented by the Netherlanders. . . . The town had . . . enjoyed extraordinary municipal franchises ever since the period of the English wars [see FRANCE: A. D. 1337-1360, and 1360-1380].

It had by its own unaided power revolted from the English dominion [1372], for which Charles V., in his customary manner, conferred upon the townsfolk valuable privileges,—among others, that of independent jurisdiction in the town and its liberties. The design of Henry II. to erect a citadel within their walls they had been enabled fortunately to prevent, through the favour of the Chatillons and the Montmorencies. Rochelle exhibited Protestant sympathies at an early period."—L. von Ranke, *Civil Wars and Monarchy in France, in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, ch. 14.

ROCHELLE.

ALSO IN: H. M. Baird, *Hist. of the Rise of the Huguenots of France*, v. 2, pp. 270-273.

A. D. 1568.—Becomes the headquarters of the Huguenots.—Arrival of the Queen of Navarre. See FRANCE A. D. 1568-1570.

A. D. 1573.—Siege and successful defense. See FRANCE A. D. 1573-1573

A. D. 1620-1622.—Huguenot revolt in support of Navarre and Béarn.—The unfavorable Peace of Montpellier. See FRANCE A. D. 1620-1622

A. D. 1625-1626.—Renewed revolt.—Second treaty of Montpellier. See FRANCE A. D. 1624-1626

A. D. 1627-1628.—Revolt in alliance with England.—Siege and surrender.—Richelieu's dyke.—The decay of the city. See FRANCE A. D. 1627-1628

ROCHESTER, England; Origin.—One of two Roman towns in Britain called Durobrivæ is identified in site with the modern city of Rochester. It derived its Saxon name—originally "Hrofescester"—"according to Bede, from one of its early rulers or prefects named Hrof." T. Wright, *Celt. Roman and Saxon*, ch. 5 and 16

ROCHESTER UNIVERSITY. See EDUCATION, MODERN AMERICA A. D. 1789-1884

ROCKINGHAM MINISTRIES, The. See ENGLAND A. D. 1765-1769, and 1782-1783

ROCROI: A. D. 1643.—Siege and Battle. See FRANCE A. D. 1642-1643

A. D. 1653.—Siege and capture by Condé in the Spanish service. See FRANCE A. D. 1653-1656

A. D. 1659.—Recovered by France. See FRANCE A. D. 1659-1661

RODNEY'S NAVAL VICTORY. See ENGLAND: A. D. 1780-1782

RODOLPH. See RUDOLPH

RODRIGUES, The island of. See MARCARENE ISLANDS.

ROESKILDE, Treaty of (1658). See SCANDINAVIAN STATES (SWEDEN). A. D. 1644-1697.

ROGATION.—With reference to the legislation of the Romans, "the word Rogatio is frequently used to denote a Bill proposed to the people. . . . After a Rogatio was passed it became a Lex; but in practice Rogatio and Lex were used as convertible terms, just as Bill and Law are by ourselves."—W. Ramsay, *Manual of Roman Antiq.*, ch. 4

ROGER I., Count of Sicily, A. D. 1073-1101. . . . Roger II., Count of Sicily, 1106-1129; King of Naples and Sicily, 1129-1154.

ROGUE RIVER INDIANS, The. See AMERICAN ABORIGINES: MODOCS, &c.

ROHAN, Cardinal-Prince de, and the Diamond Necklace. See FRANCE A. D. 1784-1785.

ROHILLA WAR, The. See INDIA: A. D. 1773-1785.

ROIS FAINEANS. See FRANKS: A. D. 811-752.

ROLAND, Madame, and the Girondists. See FRANCE: A. D. 1791 (OCTOBER), to 1793.

ROLAND, The great Bell. See GHENT: A. D. 1539-1540.

ROLAND IMAGES. See HANRA TOWNS.

ROLICA, Battle of (1808). See SPAIN: A. D. 1808-1809 (AUGUST—JANUARY).

ROMAN CITY FESTIVAL.

ROLLO, Duke, The conquest of Normandy by. See NORMANS: A. D. 876-911; and NORMANDY: A. D. 911-1000

ROLLS OF THE PIPE.—ROLLS OF THE CHANCERY. See EXCHEQUER

ROMA QUADRATA. See PALATINE HILL. ROMAGNA.—The old exarchate of Ravenna, "as having been the chief seat of the later Imperial power in Italy, got the name of Romanla, Romandiola, or Romagna"—E. A. Freeman, *Hist. Geog. of Europe*, pp. 234 and 238

ROMAGNANO, Battle of (1524). See FRANCE A. D. 1523-1525

ROMAN AUGURS. See AUGURS

ROMAN CALENDAR.—ROMAN YEAR. See CALENDAR, JULIAN

ROMAN CAMPAGNA, OR CAMPANIA. See CAMPAGNA

ROMAN CATACOMBS, The. See CATACOMBS

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. See PAPACY, and CATHOLICS

ROMAN CITIZENSHIP, under the Republic. See CIVIS ROMANI, also QUIRITES

Under the Empire.—"While Pompeius, Caesar, Augustus and others extended the Latin rights to many provincial communities, they were careful to give the full Roman qualification [the 'privileges of Quiritary proprietorship, which gave not merely the empty title of the suffrage, but the precious immunity from tribute or land tax'] to persons only. Of such persons, indeed, large numbers were admitted to citizenship by the emperors. The full rights of Rome were conferred on the Transalpine Gauls by Claudius, and the Latin rights on the Spaniards by Vespasian, but it was with much reserve that any portions of territory beyond Italy were enfranchised, and rendered Italic or Quiritary soil, and thus endowed with a special immunity. The earlier emperors had indeed, exercised a jealous reserve in popularizing the Roman privileges, but from Claudius downwards they seem to have vied with one another in the facility with which they conferred them as a boon, or imposed them as a burden. . . . The practice of purchasing Civitas was undoubtedly common under Claudius. Neither Hadrian, as hastily affirmed by St. Chrysostom, nor his next successor, as has been inferred from a confusion of names, was the author of the decree by which the Roman franchise was finally communicated to all the subjects of the empire. Whatever the progress of enfranchisement may have been, this famous consummation was not effected till fifty years after our present date, by the act of Antoninus Caracalla [A. D. 211-217]."—C. Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans*, ch. 67, with foot-note.

ROMAN CITY FESTIVAL.—The "Roman chief festival or festival of the city (ludi maximi, Romani) . . . was an extraordinary thanksgiving festival celebrated in honour of the Capitoline Jupiter and the gods dwelling along with him, ordinarily in pursuance of a vow made by the general before battle, and therefore usually observed on the return home of the burgess-force in autumn. A festal procession proceeded toward the Circus staked off between the Palatine and Aventine. . . . In each species of contest there was but one competition, and

that between not more than two competitors."—
T. Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 1, ch. 15.

ROMAN COINAGE AND MONEY. See
MONEY AND BANKING: ROME.

ROMAN COMITIA. See COMITIA CENTU-
RIATA, AND COMITIA CURIATA.

ROMAN CONSULS. See CONSUL.

ROMAN CONTIONES. See CONTIONES

ROMAN DECEMVIRS. See DECEMVIRS

ROMAN EDUCATION. See EDUCATION,
ROMAN.

ROMAN EMPIRE: B. C. 31.—Its begin-
ning, and after. See ROME. B. C. 31, and after.

A. D. 476.—Interruption of the line of Em-
perors in the West. See ROME: A. D. 455-476.

A. D. 800.—Charlemagne's restoration of
the Western Empire. See GERMANY A. D.
800.

A. D. 843-951.—Dissolution of the Caroling-
ian fabric. See ITALY A. D. 843-951.

ROMAN EMPIRE, THE HOLY: A. D. 963.
—Founded by Otto the Great. —Later Origin of
the Name. —"The Holy Roman Empire, taking
the name in the sense which it commonly bore in
later centuries, as denoting the sovereignty of
Germany and Italy vested in a Germanic prince,
is the creation of Otto the Great. Substantially,
it is true, as well as technically it was a prolon-
gation of the Empire of Charles [Charlemagne],
and it rested (as will be shewn in the sequel)
upon ideas essentially the same as those which
brought about the coronation of A. D. 800.
This restored Empire, which professed itself a
continuation of the Carolingian, was in many
respects different. It was less wide, including,
if we reckon strictly, only Germany proper and
two thirds of Italy, or counting in subject but
separate kingdoms, Burgundy, Bohemia, Mo-
ravia, Poland, Denmark, perhaps Hungary. Its
character was less ecclesiastical. Otto exalted
indeed the spiritual potentates of his realm, and
was earnest in spreading Christianity among the
heathen: he was master of the Pope and De-
fender of the Holy Roman Church. But religion
held a less important place in his mind and his
administration. . . . It was also less Roman.
. . . Under him the Germans became not only a
united nation, but were at once raised on a pin-
nacle among European peoples as the imperial
race, the possessors of Rome and Rome's au-
thority. While the political connection with
Italy stirred their spirit, it brought with it a
knowledge and culture hitherto unknown." It
was not until the reign of Frederick Barbarossa
that the epithet "Holy" was prefixed to the title
of the revived Roman Empire. "Of its earlier
origin, under Conrad II (the Salic), which some
have supposed, there is no documentary trace,
though there is also no proof to the contrary.
So far as is known it occurs first in the famous
Privilege of Austria, granted by Frederick in
the fourth year of his reign, the second of his
empire. . . . Used occasionally by Henry VI and
Frederick II. It is more frequent under their
successors, William, Richard, Rudolf, till after
Charles IV's time it becomes habitual, for the
last few centuries indispensable. Regarding the
origin of so singular a title many theories have
been advanced. . . . We need not, however, be
in any great doubt as to its true meaning and
purport. . . . Ever since Hildebrand had claimed

for the priesthood exclusive sanctity and supreme
jurisdiction, the papal party had not ceased to
speak of the civil power as being, compared with
that of their own chief, merely secular, earthly,
profane. It may be conjectured that, to meet
this reproach, no less injurious than insulting,
Frederick or his advisers began to use in public
documents the expression 'Holy Empire'; there-
by wishing to assert the divine institution and
religious duties of the office he held. . . . It is
almost superfluous to observe that the beginning
of the title 'Holy' has nothing to do with the
beginning of the Empire itself. Essentially and
substantially, the Holy Roman Empire was, as
has been shewn already, the creation of Charles
the Great. Looking at it more technically, as
the monarchy, not of the whole West, like that
of Charles, but of Germany and Italy, with a
claim, which was never more than a claim, to
universal sovereignty, its beginning is fixed by
most of the German writers, whose practice has
been followed in the text, at the coronation of
Otto the Great. But the title was at least one,
and probably two centuries later."—J. Bryce,
The Holy Roman Empire, ch. 6, 9 and 12, with
foot-note —Otto, or Otho, the Great, the second
of the Saxon line of Germanic kings, crossed the
Alps and made himself master of the distracted
kingdom of Italy in 961, on the invitation of John
XII, who desired his assistance against the reign-
ing king of Italy, Berengar II, and who offered
him the imperial coronation (there had been no
acknowledged emperor for forty years) as his
reward. He easily reduced Berengar to vassal-
age, and, after receiving the imperial crown from
Pope John, he did not scruple to depose that
hectious and turbulent pontiff, by the voice of
a synod which he convoked in St. Peter's, and
to seat another in his place. Three revolts in
the city of Rome, which were stirred up by the
deposed pope, the emperor suppressed with a
heavy hand, and he took away from the city all
its forms of republican liberty, entrusting the
government to the pope as his viceroy.—The
same, ch. 9 —"This Germanic empire . . . was
a resuscitation of the idea of the old Roman em-
pire but by no means of its form. On the con-
trary, through constant struggles new constitu-
tional forms had developed themselves of which
the old world had as yet no conception. . . . In
a word or two at least, we must characterize this
transformation. Its essence is that an attempt
was made to adjust the conception of obedience
and military service to the needs of the life of
the individual. All the arrangements of life
changed their character so soon as it became the
custom to grant land to local overlords who, in
turn, provided with possessions according to
their own several grades, could only be sure of
being able to hold these possessions in so far as
they kept faith and troth with the lord-in-chief
of the land. It was through and through a
living organization, which took in the entire
monarchy and bound it together into a many-
membered whole; for the counts and dukes for
their own part entered into a similar relationship
with their own sub-tenants. Therewith the pos-
session of land entered into an indissoluble con-
nection with the theory of the empire, a connection
which extended also to those border nations which
were in contact with and subordinate to the mon-
archy. That an empire so constituted could not
reclon on such unconditional obedience as had

been paid to the old Roman empire is clear as day. Nevertheless the whole order of things in the world depended on the system of adjusted relationships, the keystone or rather commanding central point of which was formed by this same empire. It could scarcely claim any longer to be universal, but it did nevertheless hold the chief place in the general state system of Europe, and it proved a powerful upholder of the independence of the secular power. It was just this idea of universal power, and altogether of ascendancy over the Christian world, that was indelibly implanted in the German empire. But could this idea be actually realized, was Germany strong enough to carry it through? Otto the Great originated it, but by no means carried it to its completion. He passed his life amid constant internal and external struggles, no lasting form of constitution was he able to leave behind"—L. von Ranke, *Weltgeschichte* (trans. from the German, v. 7, pp. 5-7)—"Not through laws, not through an artificial state system, not through a great army of officials did Otto rule Western Europe, but more than all through the wealth of military resources which his victories had placed in his hands. Through the great army of his German vassals who were well versed in war he overthrew the Slavonians, kept the Danes in check, compelled the Hungarians to relinquish their nomadic life of plunder and to seek settled dwelling places in the plains of the Danube, so that now the gates of the East through which up till then masses of peoples threatening every thing with destruction had always anew broken in upon the West were closed forever. The fame of his victories and his feudal supremacy, extending itself further and further, made him also protector of the Burgundian and French kingdoms, and finally lord of Lombardy and of the City of Rome. With the military resources of Germany he holds in subjection the surrounding peoples; but through the power thus won, on the other hand, he himself gains a proud ascendancy over the multitude of his own vassals. Only for the reason that he wins for himself a truly royal position in Germany is he enabled to gain the imperial crown; but this again it is which first really secures and confirms his own and his family's rule in the German lands. On this rests chiefly his preëminent position, that he is the first and mightiest lord of Western Christendom, that as such he is able at any moment to bring together a numerous military force with which no people, no prince can any longer cope. But not on this alone. For the Catholic clergy also, spreading far and wide over the whole West, serves him as it were like a new crowd of vassals in stole and cassock. He nominates the archbishops and bishops in his German and Italian kingdoms as well as in the newly converted lands of the North and East; he rules the successor of St. Peter and through him exercises a decisive influence on church progress even in the Western lands where he does not himself install the dignitaries of the church. Different as this German empire was from the Frankish, faulty as was its organization, its resources seemed nevertheless sufficient in the hand of a competent ruler to maintain a far-reaching and effectual rule in the West; the more so as it was upheld by public opinion and supported by the authority of the church. But one must not be led into error; these resources

were only sufficient in the hands of a so powerful and active prince as Otto. From the Elbe marshes he hastened to the Abruzzian Mountains; from the banks of the Rhine now to the shores of the Adriatic, now to the sand-dunes of the Baltic. Ceaselessly is he in motion, continually under arms—first against the Wends and Hungarians, then against the Greeks and Lombards. No county in his wide realm, no bishopric in Catholic Christendom but what he fixed his eye upon and vigilantly watched. And wherever he may tarry and whatever he may undertake, his every act is full of fire, force and vigor and always hits the mark. With such a representative the empire is not only the highest power in the Western world but one which on all its affairs has a deep and active influence—a power as much venerated as it was dreaded"—W. von Giesebrecht, *Deutsche Kaiserzeit* (trans. from the German) v. 1, pp. 476-484—"He (Otto) now permanently united the Roman empire to the German nation and thus powerful and intelligent people undertook the illustrious but thankless task of being the Atlas of universal history. And soon enough did the connection of Germany with Italy result in the reform of the church and the revival of the various sciences, while in Italy itself it was essentially the Germanic element which brought into being the glorious civic republics. Through a historical necessity, doubtless, Germany and Italy, the purest representatives of the antique and the Teutonic types and the fairest provinces in the kingdom of human thought, were brought into this long lasting connection. From this point of view posterity has no right to complain that the Roman empire was laid like a visitation of Fate on our Fatherland and compelled it for centuries to pour out its life blood in Italy in order to construct those foundations of general European culture for which modern humanity has essentially Germany to thank"—Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom* (trans. from the German), v. 3, p. 334.

ALSO IN H. Hallam, *The Middle Ages*, ch. 3, pt. 1—See, also, ITALY A. D. 843-951; GERMANY A. D. 936-973, and ROMANS KING OF THE

12th Century.—Rise and constitution of the College of Electors. See GERMANY A. D. 1125-1272.

13th Century.—Degradation of the Holy Roman Empire after the fall of the Hohenstaufen.—The Great Interregnum.—Election of Rudolf of Hapsburg. See GERMANY A. D. 1250-1272.

15th Century.—Its character. See GERMANY: A. D. 1347-1493.

A. D. 1806.—Its end. See GERMANY: A. D. 1805-1806.

ROMAN EQUESTRIAN ORDER. See EQUESTRIAN ORDER.

ROMAN FAMILY AND PERSONAL NAMES. See GENS.

ROMAN FETIALES. See FETIALES.

ROMAN INDICATION. See INDICATIONS.

ROMAN LAW, and its lasting influence.—"Roman Law as taught in the writings of the Roman jurists is a science, a science of great perfection, a science so perfect as to almost approach the harmonious finish of art. But Roman Law is not only a marvellous system of the legal customs and concepts of the Romans; its value

is not restricted to students of Roman Law; it has an absolute value for students of any law whatever. In other words the Romans outstripped all other nations, both ancient and modern, in the scientific construction of legal problems. They alone offer that curious example of one nation's totally eclipsing the scientific achievements of all other nations. By law, however, we here understand not all branches of law, as constitutional, criminal, pontifical, and private law, together with jurisprudence. By Roman Law we mean exclusively Roman Private Law. The writings of Roman jurists on constitutional and criminal law have been superseded and surpassed by the writings of more modern jurists. Their writings on questions of Private Law, on the other hand, occupy a unique place, they are, to the present day, considered as the inexhaustible fountain head, and the inimitable pattern of the science of Private Law. . . . A Roman lawyer, and even a modern French or German lawyer—French and German Private Law being essentially Roman Law—were, and are never obliged to ransack whole libraries of precedents to find the law covering a given case. They approach a case in the manner of a physician, carefully informing themselves of the facts underlying the case, and then eliciting the legal spark by means of close meditation on the given data according to the general principles of their science. The *Corpus juris civilis* is one stout volume. This one volume has sufficed to cover billions of cases during more than thirteen centuries. The principles laid down in this volume will afford ready help in almost every case of Private Law, because they emanate from Private Law alone, and have no tincture of non legal elements.—E. Reich, *Græco Roman Institutions*, pp. 3-13.—“The *Responsa prudentum*,’ or answers of the learned in the law, consisted of explanations of authoritative written documents. It was assumed that the written law was binding, but the responses practically modified and even overruled it. A great variety of rules was thus supposed to be deduced from the Twelve Tables [see *ROME*, B. C. 451-449], which were not in fact to be found there. They could be announced by any jurisconsult whose opinions might, if he were distinguished, have a binding force nearly equal to enactments of the legislature. The responses were not published by their author, but were recorded and edited by his pupils, and to this fact the world is indebted for the educational treatises, called *Institutes* or *Commentaries*, which are among the most remarkable features of the Roman system. The distinction between the ‘responses’ and the ‘case law’ of England should be noticed. The one consists of expositions by the bar, and the other by the bench. It might have been expected that such a system would have popularized the law. This was not the fact. Weight was only attached to the responses of conspicuous men who were masters of the principles as well as details of jurisprudence. The great development of legal principles at Rome was due to this method of producing law. Under the English system no judge can enunciate a principle until an actual controversy arises to which the rule can be applied; under the Roman theory, there was no limit to the question to which a response might be given, except the skill and ingenuity of the questioner. Every possible phase of a legal

principle could thus be examined, and the result would show the symmetrical product of a single master mind. This method of developing law nearly ceased at the fall of the republic. The Responses were systematized and reduced into compendia. The right to make responses was limited by Augustus to a few jurisconsults. The edict of the Prætor became a source of law, and a great school of jurists, containing such men as Ulpian, Paulus, Gaius, and Papinian, arose, who were authors of treatises rather than of responses.—T. W. Dwight, *Introd. to Maine's "Ancient Law."*—“Apart from the more general political conditions on which jurisprudence also, and indeed jurisprudence especially depends, the causes of the excellence of the Roman civil law lie mainly in two features: first, that the plaintiff and defendant were specially obliged to explain and embody in due and binding form the grounds of the demand and of the objection to comply with it, and secondly, that the Romans appointed a permanent machinery for the edictal development of their law, and associated it immediately with practice. By the former the Romans precluded the pettifogging practices of advocates, by the latter they obviated incapable law making, so far as such things can be prevented at all; and by means of both in conjunction they satisfied, as far as is possible, the two conflicting requirements, that law shall constantly be fixed, and that it shall constantly be in accordance with the spirit of the age. . . . This state [Rome], which made the highest demands on its burgesses and carried the idea of subordinating the individual to the interest of the whole further than any state before or since has done, only did and only could do so by itself removing the barriers to intercourse and unshackling liberty quite as much as it subjected it to restriction. In permission or in prohibition the law was always absolute. . . . A contract did not ordinarily furnish a ground of action, but where the right of the creditor was acknowledged, it was so all-powerful that there was no deliverance for the poor debtor, and no humane or equitable consideration was shown towards him. It seemed as if the law found a pleasure in presenting on all sides its sharpest spikes, in drawing the most extreme consequences, in forcibly obtruding on the bluntest understanding the tyrannical nature of the idea of right. The poetical form and the genial symbolism, which so pleasingly prevail in the Germanic legal ordinances, were foreign to the Roman; in his law all was clear and precise, no symbol was employed, no institution was superfluous. It was not cruel, everything necessary was performed without tedious ceremony, even the punishment of death, that a free man could not be tortured was a primitive maxim of Roman law, to obtain which other peoples have had to struggle for thousands of years. Yet this law was frightful in its inexorable severity, which we cannot suppose to have been very greatly mitigated by humanity in practice, for it was really the law of the people; more terrible than Venetian *piombi* and chambers of torture was that series of living entombments which the poor man saw yawning before him in the debtors’ towers of the rich. But the greatness of Rome was involved in, and was based upon, the fact that the Roman people ordained for itself and endured a system of law, in which the eternal principles of freedom and

of subordination, of property and of legal redress, reigned and still at the present day reign unadulterated and unmodified"—T. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk 1, ch. 8 and 11 (v 1)—“Though hard to realise, and especially so for Englishmen, it is true that modern Europe owes to the Romans its ancient inherited sense of the sacredness of a free man's person and property, and its knowledge of the simplest and most rational methods by which person and property may be secured with least inconvenience to the whole community. The nations to come after Rome were saved the trouble of finding out all this for themselves, and it may be doubted whether any of them had the requisite genius. We in England, for example, owe the peculiar cumbrousness of our legal system to the absence of those direct Roman influences, which, on the continent, have simplified and illuminated the native legal material.”—W. W. Fowler, *The City State of the Greeks and Romans*, p. 209.—“In all the lands which had obeyed Rome, and were included in the nominal supremacy of the revived Western Empire, it [Roman Law] acquired a prevalence and power not derived from the sanction of any distinct human authority. No such authority was for the time being strong enough to compete in men's esteem and reverence with the shadow of majesty that still clung to the relics of Roman dominion. Thus the Roman law was not merely taken as (what for many purposes and in many states it really was) a common ground-work of institutions, ideas, and method, standing towards the actual rules of a given community somewhat in the same relation as in the Roman doctrine *ius gentium* to *ius civile*, but it was conceived as having, by its intrinsic reasonableness, a kind of supreme and eminent virtue, and as claiming the universal allegiance of civilised mankind. If I may use a German term for which I cannot find a good English equivalent, its principles were accepted not as ordained by Cæsar, but as in themselves binding on the *Rechtswusstsein* of Christendom. They were part of the dispensation of Roman authority to which the champions of the Empire in their secular controversy with the Papacy did not hesitate to attribute an origin no less divine than that of the Church itself. Even in England (though not in English practice, for anything I know) this feeling left its mark. In the middle of the thirteenth century, just when our legal and judicial system was settling into its typical form, Bracton copied whole pages of the Bologna glossator Azo. On the Continent, where there was no centralised and countervailing local authority, the Roman law dwarfed everything else. Yet the law of the *Corpus Juris* and the glossators was not the existing positive law of this or that place. The Roman law was said to be the common law of the Empire, but its effect was always taken as modified by the custom of the country or city. ‘*Stadtrecht bricht Landrecht, Landrecht bricht gemein Recht.*’ Thus the main object of study was not a system of actually enforced rules, but a type assumed by actual systems as their exemplar without corresponding in detail to any of them. Under such conditions it was inevitable that positive authority should be depreciated, and the method of reasoning, even for practical purposes, from an ideal fitness of things, should be exalted, so that the distinction between laws actually ad-

ministered and rules elaborated by the learned as in accordance with their assumed principles was almost lost sight of.”—Sir F. Pollock, *Oxford Lectures*, pp. 30–32.—“In some of the nations of modern Continental Europe (as, for example, in France), the actual system of law is mainly of Roman descent, and in others of the same nations (as, for example in the States of Germany), the actual system of law, though not descended from the Roman, has been closely assimilated to the Roman by large importations from it. Accordingly, in most of the nations of modern Continental Europe, much of the substance of the actual system, and much of the technical language in which it is clothed, is derived from the Roman Law, and without some knowledge of the Roman Law, the technical language is unintelligible, whilst the order or arrangement commonly given to the system, imitates the exemplar of a scientific arrangement which is presented by the Institutes of Justinian. Even in our own country, a large portion of the Ecclesiastical and Equity, and some (though a smaller) portion of the Common Law, is derived immediately from the Roman Law, or from the Roman through the Canon. Nor has the influence of the Roman Law been limited to the positive law of the modern European nations. For the technical language of this all-reaching system has deeply tinged the language of the international law or morality which those nations affect to observe. Much has been talked of the philosophy of the Roman Institutional writers. Of familiarity with Grecian philosophy there are few traces in their writings, and the little that they have borrowed from that source is the veriest foolishness: for example, their account of *Jus naturale*, in which they confound law with animal instincts, law, with all those wants and necessities of mankind which are causes of its institution. Nor is the Roman law to be resorted to as a magazine of legislative wisdom. The great Roman Lawyers are, in truth, expositors of a positive or technical system. Not Lord Coke himself is more purely technical. Their real merits lie in their thorough mastery of that system, in their command of its principles; in the readiness with which they recall, and the facility and certainty with which they apply them. In support of my own opinion of these great writers I shall quote the authority of two of the most eminent Jurists of modern times. ‘The permanent value of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*,’ says Falck, ‘does not lie in the Decrees of the Emperors, but in the remains of juristical literature which have been preserved in the Pandects. Nor is it so much the matter of these juristical writings, as the scientific method employed by the authors in explicating the notions and maxims with which they have to deal, that has rendered them models to all succeeding ages, and pre-eminently fitted them to produce and to develop those qualities of the mind which are requisite to form a Jurist.’ And Savigny says, ‘It has been shown above, that, in our science, all results depend on the possession of leading principles; and it is exactly this possession upon which the greatness of the Roman jurists rests. The notions and maxims of their science do not appear to them to be the creatures of their own will; they are actual beings, with whose existence and genealogy they have become familiar from long and intimate intercourse. Hence their

whole method of proceeding has a certainty which is found nowhere else except in mathematics, and it may be said without exaggeration that they calculate with their ideas. If they have a case to decide, they begin by acquiring the most vivid and distinct perception of it, and we see before our eyes the rise and progress of the whole affair, and all the changes it undergoes. It is as if this particular case were the germ whence the whole science was to be developed. Hence, with them, theory and practice are not in fact distinct, their theory is so thoroughly worked out as to be fit for immediate application, and their practice is uniformly ennobled by scientific treatment. In every principle they see a case to which it may be applied, in every case, the rule by which it is determined, and in the facility with which they pass from the general to the particular and the particular to the general, their mastery is indisputable. In consequence of this mastery of principles, of their perfect consistency ('elegantia') and of the clearness of the method in which they are arranged, there is no positive system of law which it is so easy to seize as a whole. The smallness of its volume tends to the same end.—J. Austin, *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, v. 3, pp. 358-361.—A glance at the history of those countries in Europe that did not adopt Roman Law will prove and illustrate the political origin of the 'reception' of this law in Germany and France still more forcibly. The Kingdom of Hungary never adopted the theory or practice of Roman Law. This seems all the more strange since Hungary used Latin as the official language of her legislature, laws, and law courts down to the first quarter of this century. A country so intensely imbued with the idiom of Rome would seem to be quite likely to adopt also the law of Rome. This, however, the Hungarians never did. Their law is essentially similar to the common law of England in that it is derived mainly from precedents and usage. The unwillingness of the Hungarians to adopt Roman Law was based on a political consideration. Roman Law, they noticed, requires a professional and privileged class of jurists who administer law to the exclusion of all other classes. In German territories the privileged class of civilians were in the service of the rulers. But it so happened that ever since 1526 the ruler, or at least the nominal head of Hungary, was a foreigner, the Archduke of Austria, or Emperor of Germany. Hence to introduce Roman Law in Hungary would have been tantamount to surrendering the law of the country to the administration of foreigners, or of professors, who had a vital interest to work in the interest of their foreign employer, the Archduke of Austria. Consequently the Hungarians prudently abstained from the establishment of numerous Universities, and persistently refused to adopt Roman Law, the scientific excellence of which they otherwise fully acknowledged. For, the Hungarians always were, and to the present moment still are, the only nation on the continent who maintained an amount of political liberty and self-government quite unknown to the rest of continental Europe, particularly in the last two centuries. The same reason applies to England. England never adopted Roman Law, because it was against the interests of English liberty to confide the making and interpretation of law to the hands of a privileged class of

jurists. As said before, Roman Law cannot be adopted unless you adopt a privileged class of professional jurists into the bargain. The hatred of the English was not so much a hatred of civil law, but of the civilians. These jurists develop law on the strength of theoretical principles, and actual cases are not decided according to former judgments given in similar cases, but by principles obtained through theoretico-practical speculation. Hence there is no division of questions of law and fact in civil cases, nor is there, in a system of Roman Private Law, any room for juries, and thus law is taken completely out of the hands of the people. This, however, the English would not endure, and thus they naturally fell to confiding their law to their judges. English common law is judge-made law."—E. Reich, *Græco Roman Institutions*, pp. 62-63.—See, also, CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS, and EDUCATION, MÆDIEVAL ITALY.

ROMAN LEGION. See LEGION, ROMAN.

ROMAN LIBRARIES. See LIBRARIES, ANCIENT ROME.

ROMAN MEDICAL SCIENCE. See MEDICAL SCIENCE 1ST CENTURY, and 2D CENTURY.

ROMAN PEACE.—"The benefits conferred upon the world by the universal dominion of Rome were of quite inestimable value. First of these benefits, . . . was the prolonged peace that was enforced throughout large portions of the world where chronic warfare had hitherto prevailed. The 'pax romana' has perhaps been sometimes depicted in exaggerated colours, but as compared with all that had preceded, and with all that followed, down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, it deserved the encomiums it has received."—J. Fiske, *American Political Ideas viewed from the Standpoint of Universal History*, lect. 2.

ROMAN PONTIFICES. See AUGURS.

ROMAN PRÆTORS. See CONSUL.

ROMAN PROCONSUL AND PROPÆTOR. See PROCONSUL.

ROMAN QUESTION, The. See ITALY: A. D. 1862-1866.

ROMAN ROADS IN BRITAIN.—"Four principal lines of road have been popularly known as 'the four Roman ways'. In the time of Edward the Confessor, and probably much earlier, there were four roads in England protected by the king's peace. These were called Watling-strete, Fosse, Hickenilde-strete, and Ermine strete. Watling street runs from London to Wroxeter. The Fosse from the sea coast near Seaton in Devonshire to Lincoln. The Ikenild street from Icklingham near Bury St. Edmund's in Suffolk, to Wantage in Berkshire, and on to Cirencester and Gloucester. The Ermine-street ran through the Fenny district of the east of England. These streets seem to have represented a combination of those portions of the Roman roads which in later times were adopted and kept in repair for the sake of traffic. . . . The name of 'Watling-street' became attached to other roads, as the Roman road beyond the Northumbrian wall, which crossed the Tyne at Corbridge and ran to the Frith of Forth at Cramond, bears that name; and the Roman road beyond Uriconium (Wroxeter) to Bravinium (Leintwarden) Salop, is also called Watling-street. The street in Canterbury through which the road from London to Dover passes is known

as Watling-street, and a street in London also bears that name. . . . Two lines of road also bear the name of the Icknield-street, or Hikenilde-street; but there is some reason to believe that the Icknield street was only a British trackway and never became a true Roman road."—H. M. Scarth, *Roman Britain*, ch. 13—"In the fifth year after the Conquest, inquisition was made throughout the kingdom into the ancient laws and customs of England. . . . From this source we learn, that there were at that time in England four great roads protected by the King's Peace, of which two ran lengthways through the island, and two crossed it, and that the names of the four were respectively, Watling-strete, Fosse, Hikenilde-strete and Erming-strete. These are the roads which are popularly but incorrectly known as 'the four Roman ways'."

. . . The King's Peace was a high privilege. Any offence committed on these highways was tried, not in the local court, where local influence might interfere with the administration of justice, but before the king's own officers"—E. Guest, *Origines Celticae*, v. 2: *The Four Roman Ways*.—See, also, WATLING STREET.

ROMAN ROADS IN ITALY. See *EMILIAN WAY*; *APPIAN WAY*; *AURELIAN ROAD*; *CASSIAN ROAD*; *POSTUMIAN ROAD*; and *ROMIL*: B. C. 295-191.

ROMAN SENATE. See *SENATE, ROMAN*.

ROMAN VESTALS. See *VESTAL VIRGINS*.

ROMAN WALLS IN BRITAIN.—There were two great fortified walls constructed by the Romans in Britain, but the name is most often applied to the first one, which was built under the orders of the Emperor Hadrian, from the Solway to the Tyne, 70 miles long and from 18 to 19 feet high, of solid masonry, with towers at intervals and with ditches throughout. In the reign of Antoninus Pius a second fortified line, farther to the north, extending from the Forth to the Clyde, was constructed. This latter was a rampart of earth connecting numerous forts. Hadrian's wall was strengthened at a later time by Severus and is sometimes called by his name. Popularly it is called "Graham's Dike." Both walls were for the protection of Roman Britain from the wild tribes of Caledonia.—E. Guest, *Origines Celticae*, v. 2, pp. 88-94.

Also in: C. Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans*, ch. 66-67.

ROMANCE LANGUAGE, Earliest Monument of. See *STRASBURG*: A. D. 842.

ROMANIA, The Empire of.—The new feudal empire, constituted by the Crusaders and the Venetians, after their conquest of Constantinople, and having the great and venerable but half ruined capital of the Byzantines for its seat, received the name of the Empire of Romania. The reign of its first emperor, the excellent Baldwin of Flanders, was brought to a tragical end in little more than a year from his coronation. Summoned to quell a revolt at Adrianople, he was attacked by the king of Bulgaria, defeated, taken prisoner and murdered within a year by his savage captor. He was succeeded on the throne by his brother Henry, a capable, energetic and valiant prince; but all the ability and all the vigor of Henry could not give cohesion and strength to an empire which was false in its constitution and predestined to decay. On Henry's death, without children (A. D. 1216), his sister Yolanda's husband, Peter of Courtenay, a French

baron, was elected emperor; but that unfortunate prince, on attempting to reach Constantinople by a forced march through the hostile Greek territory of Epirus, was taken captive and perished in an Epirot prison. His eldest son, Philip of Namur, wisely refused the imperial dignity; a younger son, Robert, accepted it, and reigned feebly until 1228, when he died. Then the venerable John de Brienne, ex-king of Jerusalem, was elected emperor regent for life, the crown to pass on his death to Baldwin of Courtenay, a young brother of Robert. "John de Brienne died in 1237, after living to witness his empire confined to a narrow circuit round the walls of Constantinople. Baldwin II. prolonged the existence of the empire by begging assistance from the Pope and the king of France, and he collected the money necessary for maintaining his household and enjoying his precarious position, by selling the holy relics preserved by the Eastern Church [such, for example, as the crown of thorns, the bonds, the sponge and the cup of the crucifixion, the rod of Moses, etc.] He was fortunate in finding a liberal purchaser in St. Louis. . . . At length, in the year 1261, a division of the Greek army [of the empire of Nicea] surprised Constantinople, expelled Baldwin, and put an end to the Latin power [see *GREEK EMPIRE OF NICEA*: A. D. 1204-1261], without the change appearing to be a revolution of much importance beyond the walls of the city"—G. Finlay, *Hist. of Greece from its Conquest by the Crusaders*, ch. 4.—In the last days of the sham empire, Baldwin II. maintained his court "by tearing the copper from the domes of the public buildings erected by the Byzantine emperors, which he coined into money, and by borrowing gold from Venetian bankers, in whose hands he placed his eldest son Philip as a pledge"—G. Finlay, *Hist. of the Byzantine and Greek Empires*, from 716 to 1453, bk. 4, ch. 1, sect. 3 (v. 2).

Also in: E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. 61.—See, also, for an account of the creation of the Empire of Romania, *BYZANTINE EMPIRE*: A. D. 1204-1205.

ROMANOFFS, Origin of the dynasty of the. See *RUSSIA*: A. D. 1533-1682.

ROMANS, King of the.—Henry II.,—St. Henry by canonization—the last of the German emperors of the House of Saxony (A. D. 1002-1024), abstained from styling himself "Emperor," for some years, until he had gone to Rome and received the imperial crown from the hands of the Pope. Meantime he invented and assumed the title of King of the Romans. His example was followed by his successors. The King of the Romans in later history was Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in embryo.—S. A. Dunham, *Hist. of the Germanic Empire*, bk. 1, ch. 2 (v. 1).—"It was not till the reign of Maximilian that the actual coronation at Rome was dispensed with, and the title of Emperor taken immediately after the election."—H. Hallam, *The Middle Ages*, ch. 3, pt. 1.

ROMANUS, Pope, A. D. 897-898. . . . Romanus I. (colleague of Constantine VII.), Emperor in the East (Byzantine, or Greek), 919-944. . . . Romanus II., Emperor in the East (Byzantine, or Greek), 959-963. . . . Romanus III., Emperor in the East (Byzantine; or Greek), 1028-1034. . . . Romanus IV., Emperor in the East (Byzantine, or Greek), A. D. 1067-1071.

the Latin and Sabine tribes of an early day established their settlements on neighboring hills, by the banks of the Tiber, in and of Italy, which is the midland of the Mediterranean or midland sea. They were throned, as it were, at the center of wide dominion in which a virile and energetic civilization could rise in ancient times.

Geograph

union of these three tribes formed the patrician nucleus of Rome. Around them gathered another population of blood, which acquired a certain footing of association with them, but not immediately on equal terms. The prece-

Patrician
Plebeians

into a pseudo-citizenship which carried more burdens than privileges with it. what impulse of character, or through what favor of circumstance, at the beginning, this infant city-state grew

il in war, over all its neighbors, none can tell. But as it did so, the sturdy plebeian populace which fought its battles more and more the greedy monopoly of offices and of conquered lands to which the patricians clung, and a struggle classes occurred which shaped the domestic politics of Rome for more than two centuries. ore that contest came to the surface of history, the oligarchy of the city had cast out the kings which were its early

B. C. 509.
Founding
Republic.

nd had put two yearly-chosen consuls in their place, thus founding the great Roman Republic, with a purely aristo-

B. C. 492.
Tribunes

nstitution. Then the battle of the plebs for equality of rights and powers was promptly opened, and the long, signifi-

cness of the democratizing of the state began. By their first victory the commons secured, for their own leadership and

a remarkable magistracy, protected by sanctities and armed with powers which never have been used in government

re, before or since. With that great tribunician authority, invincible when capably and boldly wielded, they won their

p by step, to equality in the high offices and sacred colleges of the state; to legislative equality in their assembly; to

of intermarriage with the patrician class; and to participation in the public lands.

while plebs and patricians thus strove with each other at home, they were united against their neighbors in many

B. C. 489-
Conquest

hich seldom turned to their disadvantage. Aequians, Volscians, Etruscans, Latin allies, Samnites, Gauls, Greeks of

Italy, yielded in turn to their arms, until the whole Italian peninsula had been brought under Roman rule. Then

B. C. 264-
Punic Wa

l intrusion in Sicily, collision with Carthage in that island, and the half century of Punic wars, which tried the

to the extremity of its powers, but which left it with no rival in the Mediterranean world. From that time the

B. C. 214-
Expanding

f Roman conquest was rapidly pursued in widening fields. Sicily, Spain, Greece, Macedonia, Asia Minor, Southern

orthern Africa, submitted as provinces to the proconsuls of Rome.

at the health of the commonwealth waned as its greatness waxed. It was corrupted by the spoils of conquest and the

Corruptio

s of tribute-money that flowed from three continents into its hands. It was leprous in its whole system with the infection

very. A middle class had practically disappeared. Freeman had been driven from industrial callings by servile compe-

the small farms of rural Rome had been swallowed up in great slave-worked estates; the public lands had been drawn,

trick of law or another, into private hands. The greater mass of the common people had degenerated to a worthless

Social and
degenerat

The democratic power which their ancestors won still belonged to them, but they had lost the sense and the spirit to

it, except fitfully and threateningly, for purposes that were generally base. A new nobility had risen out of the

ranks; the senate, reinforced by it, and helped by the exigencies of the long period of war, had recovered control of

ment, keeping ascendancy over the mob by political arts and bribes.

s came the fatal time when demagogues played with the passions of that fickle mob which bore the awful sovereignty

in its keeping; and when patriots were forced to be as demagogues, if they sought to lift Roman citizenship from its

degradation. In the undertakings of the Gracchi, perhaps something of both demagogue and patriot was combined;

B. C. 133-
The Grac

they did only shook the decaying political fabric and unsettled it more. The extension of Roman citizenship to the

lies, which Caius Gracchus contended for, and which might have grounded the Republic on broad bases of nationality,

B. C. 90-8
The Social

led in the next generation, but too late, and after a ruinous war. From the embers of that fiery Social War broke the

evil strife in which the old constitution was finally consumed. Marius, Sulla, Pompeius, Caesar, were distinguished

B. C. 88-4
Civil Wars

s destroyers; Cicero and Cato earned their immortality in its defense.

ne genius of Caesar a new sovereignty — an imperial autocracy — was founded, on the ruins of the shattered Republic.

rewordness of his wise nephew, Octavius, its enduring organization was shaped. The mighty fabric of the Roman

hich then arose, to dominate the world for centuries, and to dominate the history of the world perhaps forever, owed

B. C. 45-A.
The Empr

ness altogether to the effective organization of government which it embodied. It inherited all the corruptions and

n society which had sickened and destroyed the Republic; but it extinguished factions at the seat of power,

d authority there, and perfected a radiating mechanism of provincial administration such as had not been known in

perience before. Hence, emperors might be madmen or fiends or fools, as many among them were, and Rome might

of all vices and miseries, as it commonly was, and the whole Empire might be grievously oppressed, as it seldom

ey; but the working of the administrative system went on, with little disturbance or change,—so mighty and irre-

its machinery that it seemed to mankind like a part of the natural world, and they lost the ability to think of any

political state.

diandity, springing up in Judæa within the first century of the Empire, spread through and around it like an inter-

e,—sweet and wholesome in its early fruits, strong as a bond, powerful as a regenerating influence. But when the

cism of a politically fashioned Church had been grafted on the Christian vine, it bore then the evil seeds of new

Christianit

ROME.

The beginning of the City-State and the origin of its name.—The three tribes of original Romans who formed the Patrician order.—The Plebs and their inferior citizenship.—“About fourteen miles up from the mouth of the river Tiber, hills of moderate elevation rise on both banks of the stream, higher on the right, lower on the left bank. With the latter group there has been closely associated for at least two thousand five hundred years the name of the Romans. We are unable, of course, to tell how or when that name arose, this much only is certain, that in the oldest form of it known to us the inhabitants of the canton are called not Romans, but (by a shifting of sound that frequently occurs in the earlier period of a language, but fell very early in abeyance in Latin) Ramnians (Ramnes), a fact which constitutes an expressive testimony to the immemorial antiquity of the name. Its derivation cannot be given with certainty, possibly Ramnes may mean ‘foresters,’ or ‘bushmen.’ But they were not the only dwellers on the hills by the bank of the Tiber. In the earliest division of the burgesses of Rome a trace has been preserved of the fact that that body arose out of the amalgamation of three cantons once probably independent, the Ramnians, Titians, and Luceres, into a single commonwealth—in other words, out of such a ‘synoikismos’ as that from which Athens arose in Attica. The great antiquity of this threefold division of the community is perhaps best evinced by the fact that the Romans, in matters especially of constitutional law, regularly used the forms *tribuere* (‘to divide into three’) and *tribus* (‘a third’) in the general sense of ‘to divide’ and ‘a part,’ and the latter expression (*tribus*) like our ‘quarter,’ early lost its original signification of number. That the Ramnians were a Latin stock cannot be doubted, for they gave their name to the new Roman commonwealth, and therefore must have substantially determined the nationality of the united community. Respecting the origin of the Luceres nothing can be affirmed, except that there is no difficulty in the way of our assigning them, like the Ramnians, to the Latin stock. The second of these communities, on the other hand, is with one consent derived from Sabina. . . . And, as in the older and more credible traditions, without exception, the Titians take precedence of the Ramnians, it is probable that the intruding Titians compelled the older Ramnians to accept the ‘synoikismos.’ . . . Long, in all probability, before an urban settlement arose on the Tiber, these Ramnians, Titians, and Luceres, at first separate, afterwards united, had their stronghold on the Roman hills, and tilled their fields from the surrounding villages. The ‘wolf festival’ (*Lupercalia*), which the gens of the *Quintii* celebrated on the Palatine hill, was probably a tradition from these primitive ages—a festival of husbandmen and shepherds, which more than any other preserved the homely pastimes of patriarchal simplicity, and, singularly enough, maintained itself longer than all the other heathen festivals in Christian Rome. From these settlements the later Rome arose.”—T. Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 1, ch. 4.—“Rome did not seem to be a single city; it appeared like a confederation of several cities, each one of which

was attached by its origin to another confederation. It was the centre where the Latins, Etruscans, Sabellians, and Greeks met. Its first king was a Latin; the second, a Sabine, the fifth was, we are told, the son of a Greek, the sixth was an Etruscan. Its language was composed of the most diverse elements. The Latin predominated, but Sabellian roots were numerous, and more Greek radicals were found in it than in any other of the dialects of Central Italy. As to its name, no one knew to what language that belonged. According to some, Rome was a Trojan word; according to others a Greek word. There are reasons for believing it to be Latin, but some of the ancients thought it to be Etruscan. The names of Roman families also attest a great diversity of origin. . . . The effect of this mixing of the most diverse nations was, that from the beginning Rome was related to all the peoples that it knew. It could call itself Latin with the Latins, Sabine with the Sabines, Etruscan with the Etruscans, and Greek with the Greeks. Its national worship was also an assemblage of several quite different worships, each one of which attached it to one of these nations.”—Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, bk. 5, ch. 2.—“The whole history of the world has been determined by the geological fact that, at a point a little below the junction of the Tiber and the Anio the isolated hills stand nearer to one another than most of the other hills of Latium. On a site marked out above all other sites for dominion, the centre of Italy, the centre of Europe, as Europe then was, a site at the junction of three of the great nations of Italy, and which had the great river as its highway to lands beyond the bounds of Italy, stood two low hills, the hill which bore the name of Latin Saturn, and the hill at the meaning of whose name of Palatine scholars will perhaps guess for ever. These two hills, occupied by men of two of the nations of Italy, stood so near to one another that a strait choice indeed was laid on those who dwelled on them. They must either join together on terms closer than those which commonly united Italian leagues, or they must live a life of border warfare more ceaseless, more bitter, than the ordinary warfare of Italian enemies. Legend, with all likelihood, tells us that warfare was tried, history, with all certainty, tells us that the final choice was union. The two hills were fenced with a single wall; the men who dwelled on them changed from wholly separate communities into tribes of a single city. Changes of the same kind took place on not a few spots of Greece and Italy; not a few of the most famous cities of both lands grew on this wise out of the union of earlier detached settlements. But no other union of the kind, not even that which called Sparta into being out of five villages of an older day, could compare in its effects on all later time with the union of those two small hill-fortresses into a single city. For that city was Rome; the hill of Saturn became the site of Rome’s capitol, the scene of her triumphs, the home of her patron gods. The hill on the other side of the swampy dale became the dwelling-place of Rome’s Cæsars, and handed on its name of Palatium as the name for the homes of all the kings of the earth. Around those hills as a centre,

Latium, Italy, Mediterranean Europe, were gathered in, till the world was Roman, or rather till the world was Rome . . . Three tribes, settlers on three hills, were the elements of which the original commonwealth was made. Whether there was anything like a nobility within the tribes themselves, whether certain houses had any precedence, any preferences in the disposal of offices, we have no means of judging. That certain houses are far more prominent in legend and history than others may suggest such a thought, but does not prove it. But one thing is certain, these three tribes, these older settlers, were the original Roman people, which for a while numbered no members but themselves. They were the patres, the fathers, a name which in its origin meant no more than such plain names as goodman, housefather, and the like. In the Roman polity the father only could be looked on as a citizen in the highest sense, his children, his grand children, were in his power, from which, just like slaves, they could be released only by his own special act. Such was the origin of the name fathers, patres, patricians, a name round which such proud associations gathered, as the three tribes who had once been the whole Roman people shrank up into a special noble class in the midst of a new Roman people which grew up around them, but which they did not admit to the same rights as themselves. The incorporation of a third tribe marks the end of the first period of Roman history. These were the Luceres of the Cœlian, admitted perhaps at first with rights not quite on a level with those of the two earlier tribes, the Ramnes of the Palatine, the oldest Romans of all, and the Tities of the Capitoline or hill of Saturn. The oldest Roman people was now formed. No fourth tribe was ever admitted, the later tribes of Rome, it must be remembered, are a separate division which have nothing to do with these old patrician tribes. And it must have been a most rare favour for either individuals or whole houses to be received into any of the three original tribes. . . . Now, if the privileged body of citizens is small, and if circumstances tend to make the settlement of non privileged residents large, here is one of the means by which a privileged order in the narrower sense, a nobility in the midst of a nation or people may arise. An order which takes in few or no new members tends to extinction; if it does not die out, it will at least sensibly lessen. But there is no limit to the growth of the non-privileged class outside. Thus the number of the old burghers will be daily getting smaller, the number of the new residents will be daily getting larger, till those who once formed the whole people put on step by step the character of an exclusive nobility in the midst of the extended nation which has grown up around them. By this time they have acquired all the attributes of nobility, smallness of numbers, antiquity, privilege. And their possession of the common land—a possession shared constantly by a smaller number—is likely to give them a fourth attribute which, vulgarly at least, goes to swell the conception of nobility, the attribute of wealth. . . . Thus around the original people of Rome, the populus, the patres, the three ancient tribes, the settlers on the three earliest hills of Rome, arose a second people, the plebs. The whole history of Rome is a history of incorporation. The first union between the Capitoline

and Palatine hills was the first stage of the process which at last made Romans of all the nations round the Mediterranean sea. But the equal incorporation of which that union was the type had now ceased, not to begin again for ages. Whatever amount of belief we give to the legends of Roman wars and conquests under the kings, we can hardly doubt that the territory of several neighbouring towns was incorporated with the Roman state, and that their people, whether they removed to Rome or went on occupying their own lands elsewhere, became Romans, but not as yet full Romans. They were Romans in so far as they ceased to be members of any other state, in so far as they obeyed the laws of Rome, and served in the Roman armies. But they were not Romans in the sense of being admitted into the original Roman body; they had no votes in the original Roman assembly; they had no share in its public land, they were not admissible to the high offices of the state. They had an organization of their own; they had their own assemblies, their own magistrates, their own sacred rights, different in many things from those of the older Roman People. And we must remember that, throughout the Roman history, when any town or district was admitted to any stage, perfect or imperfect, of Roman citizenship, its people were admitted without regard to any distinctions which had existed among them in their elder homes. The patricians of a Latin town admitted to the Roman franchise became plebeians at Rome. Thus from the beginning, the Roman plebs contained families which, if the word 'noble' has any real meaning, were fully as noble as any house of the three elder tribes. Not a few too of the plebeians were rich, rich and poor, they were the more part land owners, no mistake can be greater than that which looks on the Roman plebs as the low multitude of a town. As we first see them, the truest aspect of them is that of a second nation within the Roman state, an inferior, a subject, nation, shut out from all political power, subject in many things to practical oppression, but which, by its very organization as a subject nation, was the more stirred up to seek, and the better enabled to obtain, full equality with the elder nation to which it stood side by side as a subject neighbour."—E. A. Freeman, *The Practical Bearings of European History (Lectures to American Audiences)*, pp. 278-279, and 285-292.—See, also, ITALY, ANCIENT; LATIUM; ALBA, and SABINES.

Early character and civilization of the Romans.—Opposing theories.—"That the central position of Rome, in the long and narrow peninsula of Italy, was highly favourable to her Italian dominion, and that the situation of Italy was favourable to her dominion over the countries surrounding the Mediterranean, has been often pointed out. But we have yet to ask what launched Rome in her career of conquest, and, still more, what rendered that career so different from those of ordinary conquerors? . . . About the only answer that we get to these questions is race. The Romans, we are told, were by nature a peculiarly warlike race. 'They were the wolves of Italy,' says Mr. Merivale, who may be taken to represent fairly the state of opinion on this subject. . . . But the further we inquire, the more reason there appears to be for believing that peculiarities of race are themselves origi-

nally formed by the influence of external circumstances on the primitive tribe, that, however marked and ingrained they may be, they are not congenital and perhaps not indelible.

Thus, by ascribing the achievements of the Romans to the special qualities of their race, we should not be solving the problem, but only stating it again in other terms.

What if the very opposite theory to that of the she wolf and her foster children should be true? What if the Romans should have owed their peculiar and unparalleled success to their having been at first not more warlike, but less warlike than their neighbours?

It may seem a paradox, but we suspect that in their imperial ascendancy is seen one of the earliest and not least important steps in that gradual triumph of intellect over force, even in war which has been an essential part of the progress of civilization.

The happy day may come when Science in the form of a benign old gentleman with a bald head and spectacles on nose, holding some beneficent compound in his hand, will confront a standing army and the standing army will cease to exist. That will be the final victory of intellect.

But in the meantime our acknowledgments are due to the primitive inventors of military organization and military discipline. They shivered Goliath's spear. A mass of comparatively unwarlike burghers, unorganized and undisciplined though they may be the hope of civilization from their mental and industrial qualities.

have as little of collective as they have of individual strength in war, they only get in each other's way and fall singly victims to the prowess of a gigantic barbarian. He who first thought of combining their force by organization, so as to make their numbers tell, and who taught them to obey officers, to form regularly for action, and to execute united movements at the word of command, was perhaps as great a benefactor of the species as he who grew the first corn, or built the first canoe.

What is the special character of the Roman legends so far as they relate to war? Their special character is that they are legends not of personal prowess but of discipline. Rome has no Achilles. The great national heroes Camillus, Cincinnatus, Papirius Cursor, Fabius Maximus, Manlius are not prodigies of personal strength and valour, but commanders and disciplinarians. The most striking incidents are incidents of discipline. The most striking incident of all is the execution by a commander of his own son for having gained a victory against orders.

'Disciplinam militarem' Manlius is made to say 'qua stetit ad hanc diem Romana res.' Discipline was the great secret of Roman ascendancy in war.

But how came military discipline to be so specially cultivated by the Romans? Dismissing the notion of occult qualities of race, we look for a rational explanation in the circumstances of the plain which was the cradle of the Roman Empire. It is evident that in the period designated as that of the kings, when Rome commenced her career of conquest, she was, for that time and country, a great and wealthy city. This is proved by the works of the kings the Capitoline Temple, the excavation for the Circus Maximus, the Servian Wall, and above all the Cloaca Maxima.

Historians have indeed undertaken to give us a very disparaging picture of the ancient Rome. . . . But the Cloaca Maxima is in itself conclusive evidence of a large population, of

wealth, and of a not inconsiderable degree of civilization.

Taking our stand upon this monument, and clearing our vision entirely of Romulus and his asylum, we seem dimly to perceive the existence of a deep prehistoric background, richer than is commonly supposed in the germs of civilization,—a remark which may in all likelihood be extended to the background of history in general.

Nothing surely can be more grotesque than the idea of a set of wolves, like the Norse pirates before their conversion to Christianity constructing in their den the Cloaca Maxima. That Rome was comparatively great and wealthy is certain.

We can hardly doubt that she was a seat of industry and commerce, and that the theory which represents her industry and commerce as having been developed subsequently to her conquests is the reverse of the fact.

Whence, but from industry and commerce, could the population and the wealth have come? Pleasant farmers do not live in cities and plunderers do not accumulate.

Rome had around her what was then a rich and peopled plain, she stood at a meeting place of nationalities, she was on a navigable river yet out of the reach of pirates; the sea near her was full of commerce, Etruscan, Greek and Carthaginian.

Her patricians were financiers and money lenders.

Even more decisive is the proof afforded by the early political history of Rome.

The institutions which we find existing in historic times must have been evolved by some such struggle between the orders of patricians and plebeians as that which Livy presents to us.

And these politics, with their parties and sections of parties, their shades of political character, the sustained interest which they imply in political objects, their various devices and compromises, are not the politics of a community of peasant farmers, living apart each on his own farm and thinking of his own crops; they are the politics of the quick-witted and gregarious population of an industrial and commercial city.

Of course when Rome had once been drawn into the career of conquest, the ascendancy of the military spirit would be complete, war, and the organization of territories acquired in war, would then become the great occupation of her leading citizens, industry and commerce would fall into disesteem and be deemed unworthy of the members of the imperial race.

Even when the Roman nobles had become a caste of conquerors and pro consuls they retained certain mercantile habits, unlike the French aristocracy, and aristocracies generally they were careful keepers of their accounts, and they showed a mercantile talent for business, as well as a more than mercantile hardness, in their financial exploitation of the conquered world.

Brutus and his contemporaries were usurers like the patricians of the early times. No one, we venture to think, who has been accustomed to study national character, will believe that the Roman character was formed by war alone; it was manifestly formed by war combined with business.

—Goldwin Smith, *The Greatness of the Romans* (Contemp. Rev. May 1878).—A distinctly contrary theory of the primary character and early social state of the Romans is presented in the following: "The Italians were much more backward than the Greeks, for their land is turned to the west, to Spain, to Gaul, to Africa, which could teach them nothing, while Greece is turned to

the east, to the coasts along which the civilisations of the Nile and the Tigris spread through so many channels. Besides, the country itself is far less stimulating to its inhabitants compared to Greece. Italy is a continental country whose inhabitants communicate more easily by land than by sea, except in the two extreme southern peninsulas, which characteristically were occupied by Greek colonies whose earlier development was more brilliant than that of the mother country. . . . The equable fertility of the land was itself a hindrance. As far back as we can form any conjecture, the bulk of the people were shepherds or husbandmen, we cannot trace a time like that reflected in the Homeric poems, when high born men of spirit went roving in their youth by land and sea, and settled down in their prime with a large stock of cattle and a fair stud of horses, to act as referees in peace and leaders in war to the cottars around. Other differences less intelligible to us were not less weighty. The volcanic character of the western plain of central Italy, the want of a fall to the coast (which caused some of the watercourses to form marshes and made the Tiber a terror to the Romans for its floods), told in ways as yet untraced on the character of the inhabitants.

For one thing the ancient worship of Febris and Meftis indicates a constant liability to fever, then the air of Greece is lighter than the air of Italy, and this may be the reason that it was more inspiring. Italian indigenous literature was of the very scantiest, its oldest element was to be found in hymns, barely metrical, and so full of repetitions as to dispense with metre. The hymns were more like spells than psalms, the singers had an object to gain rather than feelings to express. The public hymns were prayers for blessing there were private chants to charm crops out of a neighbour's field, and bring other mischief to pass against him. Such 'evil songs' were a capital offence, though there was little, perhaps, in their form to suggest a distinction whether the victim was being bewitched or satirised. The deliberate articulate expression of spite seemed a guilt and power of itself. Besides these there were dirges at funerals, ranging between commemoration of the deceased and his ancestors, propitiation of the departed spirit, and simple lamentation. There were songs at banquets in praise of ancient worthies. . . . We find no trace of any poet who composed what free-born youths recited at feasts, probably they extemporised without training and attained no mastery. If a nation has strong military instincts, we find legendary or historical heroes in its very oldest traditions, if a nation has strong poetical instincts, we find the names of historical or legendary poets. In Italy we only meet with nameless fauns and prophets, whose inspired verses were perhaps on the level of Mother Shipton."—G. A. Simcox, *A History of Latin Literature*, v. 1, introd.

Struggle with the Etruscans. See ETRUSCANS.

B. C. 753.—Era of the foundation of the city.—"Great doubts have been entertained, as well by ancient historians as by modern chronologists, respecting this era. Polybius fixes it to the year B. C. 751; Cato, who has been followed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Solinus, and Eusebius, to B. C. 752; Fabius Pictor, to B. C. 747; Archbishop Usher, to B. C. 748; and Newton,

to B. C. 627: Terentius Varro, however, refers it to B. C. 753; which computation was adopted by the Roman emperors, and by Plutarch, Tacitus, Dion, Aulus Gellius, Censorinus, Onuphrius, Barolus, bishop Beveridge, Stranchius, Dr. Playfair, and by most modern chronologists. Livy, Cicero, Pliny, and Velleius Paterculus occasionally adopted both the Varronian and Catonian computations. Dr. Hales has, however, determined, from history and astronomy, that the Varronian computation is correct, viz. B. C. 753"—Sir H. Nicolas, *Chronology of History*, p. 2.

B. C. 753-510.—The legendary period of the kings.—Credibility of the Roman annals.

—Probable Etruscan domination.—"It may be stated, as the result of this inquiry, that the narrative of Roman affairs, from the foundation of the city to the expulsion of the Tarquins, is formed out of traditional materials. At what time the oral traditions were reduced into writing, and how much of the existing narrative was the arbitrary supplement of the historians who first framed the account which has descended to us, it is now impossible to ascertain.

The records of them, which were made before the burning of Rome, 390 B. C., were doubtless rare and meagre in the extreme, and such as there were at this time chiefly perished in the conflagration and ruin of the city. It was probably not till after this period—that is to say, about 120 years after the expulsion of the kings—and above 350 years after the era assigned for the foundation of the city, that these oral reports—these hearsay stories of many generations—began to be entered in the registers of the pontifices. The history of the entire regal period, as respects both its external attestation and its internal probability, is tolerably uniform in its character.

Niebuhr, indeed, has drawn a broad line between the reigns of Romulus and Numa on the one hand, and those of the five last kings on the other. The former he considers to be purely fabulous and poetical, the latter he regards as belonging to the mythico-historical period, when there is a narrative resting on a historical basis, and most of the persons mentioned are real. But it is impossible to discover any ground, either in the contents of the narrative, or in its external evidence, to support this distinction. Romulus, indeed, from the form of his name, appears to be a mere personification of the city of Rome, and to have no better claim to a real existence than Hellen, Danaus, Ægyptus, Tyrrhenus, or Italus. But Numa Pompilius stands on the same ground as the remaining kings, except that he is more ancient; and the narrative of all the reigns, from the first to the last, seems to be constructed on the same principles. That the names of the kings after Romulus are real, is highly probable; during the latter reigns, much of the history seems to be in the form of legendary explanations of proper names. . . . Even with respect to the Tarquinian family, it may be doubted whether the similarity of their name to that of the city of Tarquinii was not the origin of the story of Demaratus and the Etruscan origin. The circumstance that the two king Tarquins were both named Lucius, and that it was necessary to distinguish them by the epithets of Priscus and Superbus, raises a presumption that the names were real. Müller indeed regards the names of the two Tarquins as merely represent-

ing the influence exercised by the Etruscan city of Tarquinii in Rome at the periods known as their reigns. . . . The leading feature of the government during this period is that its chief was a king, who obtained his office by the election of the people, and the confirmation of the Senate, in the same manner in which consuls and other high magistrates were appointed after the abolition of royalty, but that, when once fully elected, he retained his power for life. In the mode of succession, the Roman differed from the early Greek kings, whose office was hereditary. The Alban kings, likewise, to whom the Roman kings traced their origin, are described as succeeding by inheritance and not by election. The predominant belief of the Romans concerning their regal government was, that the power of the kings was limited by constitutional checks, that the chief institutions of the Republic, namely, the Senate and the Popular Assembly, existed in combination with the royalty, and were only suspended by the lawless despotism of the second Tarquin. Occasionally, however, we meet with the idea that the kings were absolute"—Sir G. C. Lewis, *Inquiry into the Credibility of Early Roman History*, ch. 11, sect. 39-40 (r 1)—"Of the kings of Rome we have no direct contemporary evidence, we know them only from tradition, and from the traces they left behind them in the Republican constitution which followed. But the 'method of survivals' has here been applied by a master hand [Mömmesen], and we can be fairly sure, not only of the fact that monarchy actually existed at Rome, but even of some at least of its leading characteristics. Here we have kingship no longer denoting, as in Homer, a social position of chieftaincy which bears with it certain vaguely-conceived prerogatives, but a clearly defined magistracy within the fully realised State. The rights and duties of the Rex are indeed defined by no documents, and the spirit of the age still seems to be obedience and trust, but we also find the marks of a formal customary procedure, which is already hardening into constitutional practice, and will in time further harden into constitutional law. The monarchy has ceased to be hereditary, if it ever was so, and the method of appointment, though we are uncertain as to its exact nature, is beyond doubt regulated with precision, and expressed in technical terms."—W. W. Fowler, *The City-State of the Greeks and Romans*, pp. 74-75.—"The analogy of other states, no less than the subsequent constitution of Rome, which always retained the marks of its first monarchical complexion, leaves us in no doubt that kings once reigned in Rome, and that by a determined uprising of the people they were expelled, leaving in the Roman mind an ineradicable hatred of the very name. We have to be content with these hard facts, extracted from those thrilling stories with which Livy adorns the reign and the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus."—R. F. Horton, *Hist. of the Romans*, ch. 2.—The names of the kings, with the dates assigned to them, are as follows: Romulus, B. C. 753-717; Numa Pompilius, B. C. 715-673; Tullius Hostilius, B. C. 673-642; Ancus Marcius, B. C. 641-617; Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, B. C. 616-579; Servius Tullius, B. C. 578-535; Tarquinius Superbus, B. C. 534-510.—According to the legend of early Rome, Romulus attracted inhabitants to the city he had founded by establishing within

its walls a sanctuary or refuge, for escaped slaves, outlaws and the like. But he could not in a fair way procure wives for these rough settlers, because marriage with them was disdained by the reputable people of neighboring cities. Therefore he arranged for an imposing celebration of games at Rome, in honor of the god Consus, and invited his neighbors, the Sabines, to witness them. These came unsuspectingly with their wives and daughters, and, when they were absorbed in the show, the Romans, at a given signal, rushed on them and carried off such women as they chose to make captive. A long and obstinate war ensued, which was ended by the interposition of the women concerned, who had become reconciled to their Roman husbands and satisfied to remain with them.—Livy, *History*, ch. 9—"We cannot . . . agree with Niebuhr, who thinks he can discover some historical facts through this legendary mist. As he supposes, the inhabitants of the Palatine had not the right of intermarriage ('connubium') with their Sabine neighbours on the Capitoline and the Quirinal. This inferiority of the Palatine Romans to the Sabines of the Capitoline and Quirinal hills caused discontent and war. The right of intermarriage was obtained by force of arms, and this historical fact lies at the bottom of the tale of the rape of the Sabines. Such a method of changing legends into history is of very doubtful utility. It seems more natural to explain the legend from the customs at the Roman marriage ceremonies"—in which the pretence of forcible abduction was enacted.—W. Ihne, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 1, ch. 2—"With the reign of the fifth king, Tarquinius Priscus, a marked change takes place. The traditional accounts of the last three kings not only wear a more historical air than those of the first four, but they describe something like a transformation of the Roman city and state. Under the rule of these latter kings the separate settlements were for the first time enclosed with a rampart of colossal size and extent. The low grounds were drained, and a forum and circus elaborately laid out; on the Capitoline Mount a temple was erected, the massive foundations of which were an object of wonder even to Pliny. The kings increase in power and surround themselves with new splendour. Abroad, Rome suddenly appears as a powerful state ruling far and wide over southern Etruria and Latium. These startling changes are, moreover, ascribed to kings of alien descent, who one and all ascend the throne in the teeth of established constitutional forms. Finally, with the expulsion of the last of them—the younger Tarquin—comes a sudden shrinkage of power. At the commencement of the republic Rome is once more a comparatively small state, with hostile and independent neighbours at her very doors. It is difficult to avoid the conviction that the true explanation of this phenomenon is to be found in the supposition that Rome during this period passed under the rule of powerful Etruscan lords. Who the people were whom the Romans knew as Etruscans and the Greeks as Tyrrhenians is a question, which, after centuries of discussion, still remains unanswered; nor in all probability will the answer be found until the lost key to their language has been discovered. That they were regarded by the Italic tribes, by Umbrians, Sabellians, and Latins, as intruders is certain. Entering Italy, as they

probably did from the north or north-east, they seem to have first of all made themselves masters of the rich valley of the Po and of the Umbrians who dwelt there. Then crossing the Apennines, they overran Etruria proper as far south as the banks of the Tiber, here too reducing to subjection the Umbrian owners of the soil. In Etruria they made themselves dreaded, like the North-men of a later time, by sea as well as by land.

... We find the Etruscan power encircling Rome on all sides, and in Rome itself a tradition of the rule of princes of Etruscan origin. The Tarquini come from South Etruria; their name can hardly be anything else than the Latin equivalent of the Etruscan Tarchon, and is therefore possibly a title (= 'lord' or 'prince') rather than a proper name.

That Etruria had, under the sway of Etruscan lords, forged ahead of the country south of the Tiber in wealth and civilisation is a fact which the evidence of remains has placed beyond doubt. It is therefore significant that the rule of the Tarquins in Rome is marked by an outward splendour which stands in strong contrast to the primitive simplicity of the native kings.

These Etruscan princes are represented, not only as having raised Rome for the time to a commanding position in Latium, and lavished upon the city itself the resources of Etruscan civilisation, but also the authors of important internal changes. They are represented as favouring new men at the expense of the old patrician families, and as reorganising the Roman army on a new footing, a policy natural enough in military princes of alien birth."—H. F. Pelham, *Outlines of Roman Hist.*, bk. 1, ch. 3.

ALSO IN: F. W. Newman, *Regul Rome*—T. H. Dyer, *Hist. of the Kings of Rome*.

B. C. 510.—Expulsion of Tarquin the Proud.—The story from Livy.—Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, or Tarquin the Proud, son of Tarquinius Priscus and son in law of Servius Tullius, brought about the assassination of the latter, and mounted the throne. "Lucius Tarquin, having thus seized the kingdom (for he had not the consent either of the Senators or of the Commons to his deed), bare himself very haughtily, so that men called him Tarquin the Proud. First, lest some other, taking example by him, should deal with him as he had dealt with Tullius, he had about him a company of armed men for guards. And because he knew that none loved him, he would have them fear him. To this end he caused men to be accused before him. And when they were so accused, he judged them by himself, none sitting with him to see that right was done. Some he slew unjustly, and some he banished, and some he spoiled of their goods. And when the number of the Senators was greatly diminished by these means (for he laid his plots mostly against the Senators, as being rich men and the chief of the State), he would not choose any into their place, thinking that the people would lightly esteem them if there were but a few of them. Nor did he call them together to ask their counsel, but ruled according to his own pleasure, making peace and war, and binding treaties or unbinding, with none to gainsay him. Nevertheless, for a while he increased greatly in power and glory. He made alliance with Octavius Mamilius, prince of Tusculum, giving him his daughter in marriage; nor was there any man greater than Ma-

milius in all the cities of the Latins; and Suesse Pomertia, that was a city of the Volsci, he took by force, and finding that the spoil was very rich (for there were in it forty talents of gold and silver), he built with the money a temple to Jupiter on the Capitol, very great and splendid, and worthy not only of his present kingdom but also of that great Empire that should be thereafter. Also he took the city of Gabii by fraud.

By such means did King Tarquin increase his power. Now there was at Rome in the days of Tarquin a noble youth, by name Lucius Junius, who was akin to the house of Tarquin, seeing that his mother was sister to the King. This man, seeing how the King sought to destroy all the chief men in the State (and, indeed, the brother of Lucius had been so slain), judged it well so to bear himself that there should be nothing in him which the King should either covet or desire. Wherefore he feigned foolishness, suffering all that he had to be made a prey; for which reason men gave him the name of Brutus, or the Foolish. Then he bided his time, waiting till the occasion should come when he might win freedom for the people." In a little time "there came to Brutus an occasion of showing what manner of man he was. Sextus, the King's son, did so grievous a wrong to Lucretia, that was the wife of Collatinus, that the woman could not endure to live, but slew herself with her own hand. But before she died she called to her her husband and her father and Brutus, and bade them avenge her upon the evil house of Tarquin. And when her father and her husband sat silent for grief and fear, Brutus drew the knife wherewith she slew herself from the wound, and held it before him dripping with blood, and cried aloud, 'By this blood I swear, calling the Gods to witness, that I will pursue with fire and sword and with all other means of destruction Tarquin the Proud, with his accused wife and all his race; and that I will suffer no man hereafter to be king in this city of Rome.' And when he had ended he bade the others swear after the same form of words. This they did and, forgetting their grief, thought only how they might best avenge this great wrong that had been done. First they carried the body of Lucretia, all covered with blood, into the marketplace of Collatia (for these things happened at Collatia), and roused all the people that saw a thing so shameful and pitiful, till all that were of an age for war assembled themselves carrying arms. Some of them stayed behind to keep the gates of Collatia, that no one should carry tidings of the matter to the King, and the rest Brutus took with him with all the speed that he might to Rome. There also was stirred up a like commotion, Brutus calling the people together and telling them what a shameful wrong the young Tarquin had done. Also he spake to them of the labours with which the King wore them out in the building of temples and palaces and the like, so that they who had been in time past the conquerors of all the nations round about were now come to be but as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Also he set before them in what shameful sort King Tullius had been slain, and how his daughter had driven her chariot over the dead body of her father. With suchlike words he stirred up the people to great wrath, so that they passed a decree that there should be no more kings in Rome, and that

Lucius Tarquin with his wife and his children should be banished. After this Brutus made haste to the camp and stirred up the army against the King. And in the meanwhile Queen Tullia fled from her palace, all that saw her cursing her as she went. As for King Tarquin, when he came to the city he found the gates shut against him; thereupon he returned and dwelt at Caere that is in the land of Etruria, and two of his sons with him; but Sextus going to Gabil, as to a city which he had made his own, was slain by the inhabitants. The King and his house being thus driven out, Brutus was made consul with one Collatinus for his colleague."—*Stories from Livy*; by A. J. Church, ch. 5.

ALSO IN: B. G. Niebuhr, *Lect's on the Hist. of Rome*, lect. 8-9 (v. 1).—T. H. Dyer, *Hist. of the Kings of Rome*, ch. 10.

B. C. 509.—The establishment of the Republic.—The Valerian Laws.—"However much the history of the expulsion of the last Tarquinius, 'the proud,' may have been interwoven with anecdotes and spun out into a romance, it is not in its leading outlines to be called in question. . . . The royal power was by no means abolished, as is shown by the fact that, when a vacancy occurred, a 'temporary king' (interrex) was nominated as before. The one life-king was simply replaced by two year-kings, who called themselves generals (prætores), or judges (iudices), or merely colleagues (consules) [consules are those who 'leap or dance together.' Foot-note]. The collegiate principle, from which this last—and subsequently most current—name of the annual kings was derived, assumed in their case an altogether peculiar form. The supreme power was not entrusted to the two magistrates conjointly, but each consul possessed and exercised it for himself as fully and wholly as it had been possessed and exercised by the king; and, although a partition of functions doubtless took place from the first—the one consul for instance undertaking the command of the army, and the other the administration of justice—that partition was by no means binding, and each of the colleagues was legally at liberty to interfere at any time in the province of the other [see CONSUL, ROMAN]. . . . This peculiarly Latin, if not peculiarly Roman, institution of co-ordinate supreme authorities . . . manifestly sprang out of the endeavour to retain the regal power in legally undiminished fulness. . . . A similar course was followed in reference to the termination of their tenure of office. . . . They ceased to be magistrates, not upon the expiry of the set term, but only upon their publicly and solemnly demitting their office: so that, in the event of their daring to disregard the term and to continue their magistracy beyond the year, their official acts were nevertheless valid, and in the earlier times they scarcely even incurred any other than a moral responsibility."—T. Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 2, ch. 1.—"No revolution can be undertaken and completed with success if the mass of the people is not led on by some superior intellect. At the dissolution of an existing legal authority the only authority remaining is personal and de facto, which in proportion to the danger of the position is more or less military and dictatorial. The Romans especially acknowledged the necessity, when circumstances required it, of submitting to the unlimited power of a dictator. Such a chief they found, at the time

of the revolution, in Brutus. Collatinus also may, during a certain time, have stood in a similar manner at the head of the state, probably from less pure motives than Brutus, in consequence of which he succumbed to the movement which he in part may have evoked. After Brutus, Valerius Publicola was the recognised supreme head and the arbiter of events in Rome with dictatorial power, until his legislation made an end of the interregnum, and with all legal forms founded the true and genuine republic with two annual consuls. The dictatorship is found in the Latin cities as a state of transition between monarchy and the yearly prætorship; and we may conjecture that also in Rome the similar change in the constitution was effected in a similar way. In important historical crises the Romans always availed themselves of the absolute power of a dictator, as in Greece, with similar objects, Aesymnetæ were chosen. . . . How long the dictatorial constitution lasted must remain undecided; for we must renounce the idea of a chronology of that time. It appears to me not impossible that the period between the expulsion of the kings and the Valerian laws, which in our authorities is represented as a year, may have embraced ten years, or much more."—W. Ihne, *Researches into the History of the Roman Constitution*, p. 61.—"The republic seems to have been first regularly established by the Valerian laws, of which, unfortunately, we can discover little more than half obliterated traces in the oldest traditions of the Romans. According to the story, P. Valerius was chosen as consul after the banishment of Tarquinius Collatinus, and remained alone in office after the death of his colleague, Brutus, without assembling the people for the election of a second consul. This proceeding excited a suspicion in the minds of the people, that he intended to take sole possession of the state, and to re-establish royal power. But these fears proved groundless. Valerius remained in office with the sole design of introducing a number of laws intended to establish the republic on a legal foundation, without the danger of any interference on the part of a colleague. The first of these Valerian laws threatened with the curse of the gods any one who, without the consent of the people, should dare to assume the highest magistracy. . . . The second law of Valerius . . . prescribe that in criminal trials, where the life of a citizen was at stake, the sentence of the consul should be subject to an appeal to the general assembly of the people. This Valerian law of appeal was the Roman Habeas Corpus Act."—W. Ihne, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 2, ch. 1 (v. 1).—See, also, CONSUL, ROMAN; COMITIA CURIATA; COMITIA CENTURIATA; CENSORS; QUÆSTORS, ROMAN; SENATE, ROMAN.

B. C. 494-492.—The first secession of the Plebs.—Origin of the Tribunes of the Plebs, and the Ædiles.—Original and acquired power of the Tribunes.—The two Roman peoples and their antagonism.—"The struggle [of plebeians against patricians in early Rome] opens with the debt question. We must realize all along how the internal history is affected by the wars without. The debtors fall into their difficulties through serving in the field during the summer; for of course the army is a citizen army and the citizens are agriculturists. Two patrician families take the side of the poor, the Horatii and the Valerii. Manius Valerius

Publicola, created dictator, promises the distressed farmers that, if they will follow him in his campaign against the Sabines, he will procure the relaxation of their burdens. They go and return victorious. But Appius Claudius (whose family had but recently migrated to Rome, a proud and overbearing Sabine stock) opposed the redemption of the dictator's promise. The victorious host, forming a seventh of the arm-bearing population, instantly marched out of the gate of the city, crossed the river Anio, and took up a station on the Sacred Mount [Mons Sacer]. They did not mean to go back again; they were weary of their haughty masters. . . . At last a peace is made—a formal peace concluded by the fetiales; they will come back if they may have magistrates of their own. This is the origin of the tribunes of the plebs [B. C. 493]. . . . The plebs who marched back that day from the Sacred Mount had done a deed which was to have a wonderful issue in the history of the world; they had dropped a seed into the soil which would one day spring up into the imperial government of the Caesars. The 'tribunicia potestas,' with which they were clothing their new magistrates, was to become a more important element in the claims of the emperors than the purple robe of the consuls."—R. F. Horton, *Hist. of the Romans*, ch. 3.—"The tribunes of the people were so essentially different from all the other magistrates that, strictly speaking, they could hardly be called magistrates at all. They were originally nothing but the official counsel of the plebs—but counsel who possessed a veto on the execution of any command or any sentence of the patrician authorities. The tribune of the people had no military force at his disposal with which to enforce his veto. . . . There is no more striking proof of the high respect for law which was inherent in the Roman people, than that it was possible for such a magistracy to exercise functions specially directed against the governing class. . . . To strengthen an official authority which was so much wanting in physical strength, the Romans availed themselves of the terrors of religion. . . . The tribunes were accordingly placed under the special protection of the Deity. They were declared to be consecrated and inviolable ('sacrosancti'), and whoever attacked them, or hindered them in the exercise of their functions, fell a victim to the avenging Deity, and might be killed by anyone without fear of punishment."—W. Ihne, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 2, ch. 2, and bk. 6, ch. 8.—"The tribune had no political authority. Not being a magistrate, he could not convoke the curies or the centuries [see COMITIA CURIATA and COMITIA CENTURIATA]. He could make no proposition in the senate; it was not supposed, in the beginning, that he could appear there. He had nothing in common with the real city—that is to say, with the patrician city, where men did not recognize any authority of his. He was not the tribune of the people; he was the tribune of the plebs. There were then, as previously, two societies in Rome—the city and the plebs; the one strongly organized, having laws, magistrates, and a senate; the other a multitude, which remained without rights and laws, but which found in its inviolable tribunes protectors and judges. In succeeding years we can see how the tribunes took courage, and what unexpected powers they assumed. They had no authority

to convoke the people, but they convoked them. Nothing called them to the senate; they sat at first at the door of the chamber; later they sat within. They had no power to judge the patricians; they judged them and condemned them. This was the result of the inviolability attached to them as sacrosancti. Every other power gave way before them. The patricians were disarmed the day they had pronounced, with solemn rites, that whoever touched a tribune should be impure. The law said, 'Nothing shall be done against a tribune.' If, then, this tribune convoked the plebs, the plebs assembled, and no one could dissolve this assembly, which the presence of the tribune placed beyond the power of the patricians and the laws. If the tribune entered the senate, no one could compel him to retire. If he seized a consul, no one could take the consul from his hand. Nothing could resist the boldness of a tribune. Against a tribune no one had any power, except another tribune. As soon as the plebs thus had their chiefs, they did not wait long before they had deliberative assemblies. These did not in any manner resemble those of the patricians. The plebs, in their comitia, were distributed into tribes; the domicile, not religion or wealth, regulated the place of each one. The assembly did not commence with a sacrifice; religion did not appear there. They knew nothing of presages, and the voice of an augur, or a pontiff, could not compel men to separate. It was really the comitia of the plebs, and they had nothing of the old rules, or of the religion of the patricians. True, these assemblies did not at first occupy themselves with the general interests of the city; they named no magistrates, and passed no laws. They deliberated only on the interests of their own order, named the plebeian chiefs, and carried plebiscita. There was at Rome, for a long time, a double series of decrees—senatusconsulta for the patricians, plebiscita for the plebs. The plebs did not obey the senatusconsulta, nor the patricians the plebiscita. There were two peoples at Rome. These two peoples, always in presence of each other, and living within the same walls, still had almost nothing in common. A plebeian could not be consul of the city, nor a patrician tribune of the plebs. The plebeian did not enter the assembly by curies, nor the patrician the assembly of the tribes. They were two peoples that did not even understand each other, not having—so to speak—common ideas. . . . The patricians persisted in keeping the plebs without the body politic, and the plebs established institutions of their own. The duality of the Roman population became from day to day more manifest. And yet there was something which formed a tie between these two peoples: this was war. The patricians were careful not to deprive themselves of soldiers. They had left to the plebeians the title of citizens, if only to incorporate them into the legions. They had taken care, too, that the inviolability of the tribunes should not extend outside of Rome, and for this purpose had decided that a tribune should never go out of the city. In the army, therefore, the plebs were under control; there was no longer a double power; in presence of the enemy Rome became one."—N. D. Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, bk. 4, ch. 7.—It is supposed that the tribunes were originally two in number; but later there were five, and, finally,

ten. The law which created their office was "deposited in a temple, under the charge of two plebeian magistrates specially appointed for the purpose and called Aediles or 'housemasters'." These aediles were attached to the tribunes as assistants, and their jurisdiction chiefly concerned such minor cases as were settled by fines.—T. Mommsen, *Hist. of the Roman Republic* (abridged by Bryant and Hendy), ch. 7.—"Besides the tribunes, who stood over against the consuls, two plebeian aediles were appointed, who might balance the patrician questors. Their name seems borrowed from the temple (*Ædes Cereris*) which is now built on the cattle market between the Palatine and the river to form a religious centre for the plebeian interest, as the ancient temple of Saturn was already a centre for the patrician interest. The goddess of bread is to preside over the growth of the democracy. The duty of aediles is, in the first instance, to keep the public buildings in repair, but they acquire a position not unlike that of police-officers."—R. F. Horton, *Hist. of the Romans*, ch. 3.—The office of the curule aediles (two in number, who were elected in "comitia tributa") was instituted in 366 B. C. These were patricians at first, but in 304 B. C. the office was thrown open in alternate years to the plebeians, and in 91 B. C. all restrictions were removed. The curule aediles had certain judicial functions, and formed with the plebeian aediles a board of police and market administration, having oversight also of the religious games.—*The same*, App. A.

ALSO IN: Sir G. C. Lewis, *Credibility of Early Roman History*, ch. 12, pt. 1.—B. G. Niebuhr, *Lect's on the History of Rome*, lect. 16.—T. Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 2, ch. 2 (r. 1).

B. C. 493.—League with the Latins. See below B. C. 339-338.

B. C. 489-450.—Volscian Wars.—The wars of the Romans with the neighboring Volscians stretched over a period of some forty years (B. C. 489-450) and ended in the disappearance of the latter from history. The legend of Coriolanus (Caius Marcius, on whom the added name was bestowed because of his valiant capture of the Volscian town of Corioli) is connected with these wars, but modern critics have stripped it of all historic credit and left it only a beautiful romance.—W. Ihne, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 2, ch. 4 (p. 1).

ALSO IN: A. J. Church, *Stories from Livy*, ch. 7.

B. C. 472-471.—The Publilian Law of Voleiro.—Exclusion of Patricians from the Comitia Tributa.—"Volero Publilius was chosen one of the Tribunes for . . . [B. C. 472], and he straightway proposed a law, by which it was provided that the Tribunes and Aediles of the plebs should be elected by the plebeians themselves at the Assembly of the Tribes in the Forum, not at the Assembly of the Centuries in the Field of Mars. This is usually called the Publilian Law of Voleiro. For a whole year the patricians succeeded in putting off the law. But the plebeians were determined to have it."—H. G. Liddell, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 2, ch. 8 (p. 1).—"The immediate consequence of the tribuneship of the people was the organisation of the assembly of tribes, the 'comitia tributa,' whereby they lost their former character as factional or party meetings and were raised to the dignity and functions of assemblies of the Roman people. . . . The circumstances which, in 471 B. C., led to the passing of the

Publilian law, seem to indicate that even at that time the attempt was made by the patricians to change the original character of the tribuneship of the people, and to open it to the patrician class. The patricians intruded themselves in the assembly of the plebeians, surely not for the purpose of making a disturbance as it is represented, but to enforce a contested right, by which they claimed to take part in the comitia of tribes.

This question was decided by the Publilian law, which excluded the patricians from the comitia tributa and specified the privileges of these comitia, now admitted to be purely plebeian.

These were the right of meeting together unmolested in separate purely plebeian comitia, the right of freely and independently electing their representatives, the right of discussing and settling their own affairs, and in certain matters of passing resolutions [*plebiscita*] which affected the whole community. These resolutions were, of course, not binding on the state, they had more the character of petitions than enactments, but still they were the formal expression of the will of a great majority of the Roman people and as such they could not easily be set aside or ignored by the patrician government."—W. Ihne, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 2, ch. 8, and bk. 6, ch. 1.

ALSO IN: B. G. Niebuhr, *Lect's on Hist. of Rome*, lect. 20.

B. C. 466-463.—The Plague.—In the war of the Romans with the Volscians, the former were so hard pressed that "it became necessary to receive men and cattle within the walls of Rome, just as at Athens in the Peloponnesian war; and this crowding together of men and beasts produced a plague [B. C. 466-463]. It is probable that the great pestilence which, thirty years later, broke out in Greece and Carthage, began in Italy as early as that time. The rate of mortality was fearful, it was a real pestilence, and not a mere fever. Both consuls fell victims to the disease, two of the four augurs, the curio maximus, the fourth part of the senators, and an immense number of citizens of all classes."—B. G. Niebuhr, *Lect's on the Hist. of Rome*, lect. 21.

ALSO IN: T. Arnold, *Hist. of Rome*, ch. 11.

B. C. 458.—Conquest of the Æqui.—"Alternating with the raids [of the Romans] against the Volsci are the almost yearly campaigns with the Æqui, who would pour down their valleys and occupy Mount Algidus, threatening Tusculum and the Latin Way which led to Rome. It was on one of these occasions, when the republic too was engaged with Sabines to the north, and Volscians to the south, that the Consul Minucius [B. C. 458] found himself hemmed in on the mountain-side by the Æqui. Very beautiful and very characteristic is the legend which veils the issue of the danger. L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, ruined by a fine imposed upon his son, is tilling his little farm across the Tiber, when the messengers of the Senate come to announce that he is made dictator. With great simplicity he leaves his plough, conquers the Æqui, and returns to his furrows again."—R. F. Horton, *Hist. of the Romans*, ch. 4.

ALSO IN: A. J. Church, *Stories from Livy*, ch. 9.

B. C. 456.—The Icilian Law.—The early process of legislation illustrated.—Persuasiveness of Plebeian Petitions.—"The process of

legislation in early times has been preserved to us in a single instance in which Dionysius has followed the account derived by him from an ancient document. The case is that of the Lex Icilia de Aventino publicando (B. C. 456), an interlude in the long struggle over the Terentilian law [see below, B. C. 451-449]. This Lex Icilia was preserved, as Dionysius tells us, on a brazen column in the temple of Diana on the Aventine. It seems unlikely that the original tablet in such a situation should have survived the burning of the city by the Gauls. Yet a record so important to the plebs would doubtless be at once restored, and the restoration would show at least the belief prevalent at this very early period (B. C. 389) as to the proper procedure in case of such a law. 'Icilius,' says Dionysius (X. 31), 'approached the consuls then in office and the senate, and requested them to pass the preliminary decree for the law that he proposed, and to bring it before the people.' By threatening to arrest the consuls he compelled them to assemble the senate, and Icilius addressed the senate on behalf of his bill. Finally the senate consented . . . (Dionys. X. 32). Then, after auspices and sacrifices, 'the law was passed by the comitia centuriata, which were convened by the consuls.'

Now here we have an order of proceeding under which the plebs have a practical initiative in legislation, and in which, nevertheless, each of the powers of the state acts in a perfectly natural and constitutional manner. The formal legislative power lies solely with the populus Romanus. The vote of the corporation of the plebs is not then in early times strictly a legislative process at all. It is merely a strong and formal petition, an appeal to the sovereign assembly to grant their request. But this sovereign assembly can only be convened and the question put to it by a consul. If the consuls are unfavourable to the bill, they can refuse to put it to the vote at all. In any case, unless, like Sp. Cassius, they were themselves revolutionists, they would not think of doing so save on the recommendation of their authorised advisers . . . The senate is assembled and freely discusses the law. An adverse vote justifies the consuls in their resistance. Then follow tedious manoeuvres. The senate treat with members of the college of tribunes to procure their veto, they urge the necessity of a military expedition, or, as a last resource, advise the appointment of a dictator. Such is the general picture we get from Livy's story. If by these means they can tide over the tribune's year of office, the whole process has to be gone through again. The senate have the chance of a lucky accident in getting one of the new tribunes subservient to them; or sometimes (as in the case of the proposal to remove to Veii) they may persuade the plebs itself to throw out the tribunician rogatio when again introduced (Livy, v. 30). On the other hand the tribunes may bring to bear their reserved power of impeding all public business; and the ultimate ratio lies with the plebeians, who have the power of secession in their hands. In practice, however, the senate is nearly always wise enough to yield before the plebs is driven to play this its last card. Their yielding is expressed by their backing the petition of the plebs and recommending the consuls to put the question of its acceptance to the populus. With this recommendation on the part of the senate the struggle

is generally at an end. It is still in the strict right of the consuls to refuse to put the question to the comitia. Livy (iii. 19) gives us one instance in the matter of the Terentilian law, when the senate is disposed to yield, and the consul 'non in plebe coerenda quam senatu castigando vehementior fuit.' But a consul so insisting on his right would incur enormous personal responsibility, and expose himself, unsheltered by public opinion, to the vengeance of the plebs when he went out of office. When the consul too has yielded, and the question is actually put to the vote of the sovereign (generally in its comitia centuriata), the controversy has been long ago thoroughly threshed out. Though it is only at this stage that legislation in the strict sense of the word commences, yet no instance is recorded of a refusal on the part of the sovereign people to assent to the petition of the plebs backed by the recommendation of the senate.—J. L. Strachan Davidson, *Plebeian Privilege at Rome* (*English Historical Rev.*, April, 1886).—On the bearings of this proceeding on the subsequently adopted Valerio Horatian, Publilian, and Hortensian laws, see below B. C. 286.

B. C. 451-449.—The Terentilian Law.—The Decemvirs and the Twelve Tables.—Not long after the establishment of the tribuneship, 'the plebeians felt the necessity of putting an end to the exclusive possession of the laws which the patricians enjoyed, and to make them the common property of the whole nation. This could only be done by writing them down and making them public. A proposal was accordingly made in the assembly of the tribes by the tribune C. Terentilius Arsa (462 B. C.) to appoint a commission for the purpose of committing to writing the whole of the laws. It is not wonderful that the patricians opposed with all their strength a measure which would wrest a most powerful weapon out of their hands. The contest for the passing of the bill of Terentilius lasted, according to tradition, not less than ten years, and all means of open and secret opposition and of partial concession were made use of to elude the claims of the popular party. After a ten years' struggle it [the motion for a commission] was passed into law. It proposed that a commission of ten men, being partly patricians and partly plebeians, should be appointed, for the purpose of arranging the existing law into a code. At the same time the consular constitution was to be suspended, and the ten men to be intrusted with the government and administration of the commonwealth during the time that they acted as legislators. By the same law the plebeian magistracy of the tribunes of the people ceased likewise, and the ten men became a body of magistrates intrusted with unlimited authority. . . . The patricians did not act entirely in good faith. . . . They carried the election of ten patricians. . . . Having, however, obtained this advantage over the credulity of their opponents, the patricians made no attempt to use it insolently as a party victory. The decemvirs proceeded with wisdom and moderation. Their administration, as well as their legislation, met with universal approval. They published on ten tables the greater part of the Roman law, and after these laws had met with the approbation of the people, they were declared by a decision of the people to be binding. Thus the first year of the decemvirate passed, and so far the

traditional story is simple and intelligible." The part of the tradition which follows is largely rejected by modern critical historians. It relates that when decemvirs were chosen for another year, to complete their work, Appius Claudius brought about the election, with himself, of men whom he could control, and then established a reign of terror which surpassed the worst tyranny of the kings, refusing to abdicate when the year expired. The tragic story of Virginia connects itself with this terrible oppression, and with the legend of its downfall. In the end, the Roman people delivered themselves, and secured the permanent authority of the code of laws, which had been enlarged from ten to twelve Tables — W. Ihne, *Hist. of Rome*, bk 2, ch 9 and 10 — "The Twelve Tables were considered as the foundation of all law, and Cicero always mentions them with the utmost reverence. But only fragments remain" — H. G. Liddell, *Hist. of Rome*, bk 2, ch 11 — "The most celebrated system of jurisprudence known to the world begins, as it ends, with a code. From the commencement to the close of its history, the expositors of Roman Law consistently employed language which implied that the body of their system rested on the Twelve Decemviral Tables, and therefore on a basis of written law. Except in one particular, no institutions anterior to the Twelve Tables were recognised at Rome. The theoretical descent of Roman jurisprudence from a code, the theoretical ascription of English law to immemorial unwritten tradition, were the chief reasons why the development of their system differed from the development of ours. Neither theory corresponded exactly with the facts, but each produced consequences of the utmost importance. The ancient Roman code belongs to a class of which almost every civilised nation in the world can show a sample, and which, so far as the Roman and Hellenic worlds were concerned, were largely diffused over them at epochs not widely distant from one another. They appeared under exceedingly similar circumstances, and were produced, to our knowledge, by very similar causes. In Greece, in Italy, on the Hellenised sea-board of Western Asia, these codes all made their appearance at periods much the same everywhere, not, I mean, at periods identical in point of time, but similar in point of the relative progress of each community. Everywhere, in the countries I have named, laws engraved on tablets and published to the people take the place of usages deposited with the recollection of a privileged oligarchy. . . . The ancient codes were doubtless originally suggested by the discovery and diffusion of the art of writing. It is true that the aristocracies seem to have abused their monopoly of legal knowledge, and at all events their exclusive possession of the law was a formidable impediment to the success of those popular movements which began to be universal in the western world. But, though democratic sentiment may have added to their popularity, the codes were certainly in the main a direct result of the invention of writing. Inscribed tablets were seen to be a better depository of law, and a better security for its accurate preservation, than the memory of a number of persons however strengthened by habitual exercise. . . . Among the chief advantages which the Twelve Tables and similar codes conferred on the societies

which obtained them, was the protection which they afforded against the frauds of the privileged oligarchy and also against the spontaneous depravation and debasement of the national institutions. The Roman Code was merely an enunciation in words of the existing customs of the Roman people. Relatively to the progress of the Romans in civilization, it was a remarkably early code, and it was published at a time when Roman society had barely emerged from that intellectual condition in which civil obligation and religious duty are inevitably confounded" — H. S. Maize, *Ancient Law*, ch 1.

B. C. 449.—The Valerio-Horatian Laws.—On the overthrow of the tyranny of the Decemvirs, at Rome, B. C. 449, L. Valerius Potitus and M. Horatius Barbatus, being elected consuls, brought about the passage of certain laws, known as the Valerio Horatian Laws. These renewed an old law (the Valerian Law) which gave to every Roman citizen an appeal from the supreme magistrate to the people, and they also made the plebiscita, or resolutions of the assembly of the tribes, authoritative laws, binding on the whole body politic — H. G. Liddell, *Hist. of Rome*, bk 2, ch. 10 — See a discussion of the importance of the last mentioned of these laws, in its relations to the subsequent Publilian and Hortensian laws, below B. C. 286.

B. C. 445-400.—The Canuleian Law.—Creation of the Consular Tribunes.—Progress of the Plebs toward Political Equality.—"The year 449 had not taken from the patricians all their privileges. Rome has still two classes, but only one people, and the chiefs of the plebs, sitting in the senate, are meditating, after the struggle to obtain civil equality, to commence another to gain political equality. . . . Two things maintained the insulting distinction between the two orders, the prohibition of marriage between patricians and plebeians, and the tenure of all the magisterial offices by those who formed since the origin of Rome the sovereign people of the 'patres'. In 445 B. C. the tribune Canuleius demanded the abolition of the prohibition relative to marriages, and his colleagues, a share in the consulate. This was a demand for political equality." The Canuleian law legalizing marriages between patricians and plebeians was conceded, but not until a third "secession" of the plebeians had taken place. The plebeian demand for a share in the consulate was pacified for the time by a constitutional change which formed out of the consulate three offices: "the questorship, the censorship and the consular tribunate. The two former are exclusively patrician. The military [or consular] tribunes, in reality proconsuls confined, with one exception, to the command of the legions, could now be chosen without distinction, from the two orders. But the law, in not requiring that every year a fixed number of them be plebeians, allowed them to be all patricians; and they remained so for nearly fifty years. In spite of such skilful precautions, the senate did not give up the consulate. It held in reserve and pure from all taint the patrician magistracy, hoping for better days. . . . The constitution of 444 B. C. authorized the nomination of plebeians to the consular tribunate; down to 400 B. C. none obtained it; and during the seventy-eight years that this office continued, the senate twenty-four times nominated consuls, that is to say, it

attempted, and succeeded, one year in three, in re-establishing the ancient form of government. These perpetual oscillations encouraged the ambitious hopes of a rich knight, Spurius Maelius (439 B. C.) He thought that the Romans would willingly resign into his hands their unquiet liberty, and during a famine he gave very liberally to the poor. The senate became alarmed at this alms giving which was not at all in accordance with the manners of that time, and raised to the dictatorship Cincinnatus, who on taking office, prayed the gods not to grant that his old age should prove a cause of hurt or damage to the republic. Summoned before the tribunal of the dictator, Maelius refused to appear, and sought protection against the lictors amongst the crowd which filled the Forum. But the master of the horse, Serv. Ahala, managed to reach him, and ran him through with his sword. In spite of the indignation of the people, Cincinnatus sanctioned the act of his lieutenant, caused the house of the traitor to be demolished, and the 'prefectus annonæ,' Minucius Augurinus, sold, for an 'as' per 'modius' the corn amassed by Maelius. Such is the story of the patrician of the nobles [Livy], but at that epoch to have dreamt of re-establishing royalty would have been a foolish dream in which Spurius could not have indulged. Without doubt he had wished to obtain, by popular favour, the military tribunate, and in order to intimidate the plebeian candidates, the patricians overthrew him by imputing to him the accusation which Livy complacently details by the mouth of Cincinnatus, of having aimed at royalty. The crowd always can be cajoled by words, and the senate had the art of concentrating on this word 'royalty' all the phases of popular hatred. The move succeeded, during the eleven years following the people nine times allowed consuls to be nominated. There was, however, in 433 B. C. a plebeian dictator, Mamercus Æmilius, who reduced the tenure of censorship to 18 months. These nine consulships gave such confidence to the nobles that the senate itself had to suffer from the proud want of discipline shown by the consuls of the year 428 B. C. Though conquered by the Æquians, they refused to nominate a dictator. To overcome their resistance the senate had recourse to the tribunes of the people, who threatened to drag the consuls to prison. To see the tribunitian authority protecting the majesty of the senate was quite a new phenomenon. From this day the reputation of the tribunate equalled its power, and few years passed without the plebeians obtaining some new advantage. Three years earlier the tribunes, jealous of seeing the votes always given to the nobles, had proscribed the white robes, which marked out from a distance, to all eyes, the patrician candidate: This was the first law against undue canvassing. In 430 a law put an end to arbitrary valuations of penalties payable in kind. In 427 the tribunes, by opposing the levies, obliged the senate to carry to the comitia centuriata the question of the war against Veii. In 423 they revived the agrarian law, and demanded that the tithe should be more punctually paid in the future by the occupiers of domain land, and applied to the pay of the troops. They miscarried this time; but in 421 it seemed necessary to raise the number of questors from two to four; the people consented to it only on the condition that the questorship be ac-

cessible to the plebeians. Three years later 3,000 acres of the lands of Labicum were distributed to fifteen hundred plebeian families. It was very little: so the people laid claim in 414 to the division of the lands of Bola, taken from the Æquians. A military tribune, Postumius, being violently opposed to it, was slain in an outbreak of the soldiery. This crime, unheard of in the history of Roman armies, did harm to the popular cause; there was no distribution of lands, and for five years the senate was able to nominate the consuls. The patrician reaction produced another against it which ended in the thorough execution of the constitution of the year 444. An Icilius in 412, a Mænius in 410 B. C. took up again the agrarian law, and opposed the levy. The year following three of the Icilian family were named as tribunes. It was a menace to the other order. The patricians understood it, and in 410 three plebeians obtained the questorship. In 405 pay was established for the troops, and the rich undertook to pay the larger portion of it. Finally, in 400, four military tribunes out of six were plebeians. The chiefs of the people thus obtained the public offices and even places in the senate, and the poor obtained an indemnity which supported their families while they served with the colours. All ambitions, all desires, are at present satisfied. Calm and union returned to Rome, we can see it in the vigour of the attacks on external foes." —V. Duruy, *History of Rome*, v. 1, pp. 231-289.

B. C. 400-396.—The Veientine wars.—Proposed removal to Veii.—"Veii lay about ten miles from Rome, between two small streams which meet a little below the city and run down into the Tiber, falling into it nearly opposite to Castel Giubileo, the ancient Fidenæ. Insignificant in point of size, these little streams, however, like those of the Campagna generally, are edged by precipitous rocky cliffs, and thus are capable of affording a natural defence to a town built on the table land above and between them. The space enclosed by the walls of Veii was equal to the extent of Rome itself, so long as the walls of Servius Tullius were the boundary of the city. . . . In the magnificence of its public and private buildings Veii is said to have been preferred by the Roman commons to Rome; and we know enough of the great works of the Etruscans to render this not impossible."—T. Arnold, *Hist. of Rome*, ch. 12 (v. 1).—"Rome and Veii, equals in strength and size, had engaged in periodical conflicts from time immemorial. . . . But the time had come for the final struggle with Veii. . . . How the siege lasted for ten years [B. C. 406-396]; how, at the bidding of a captured Tuscan seer, the Alban Lake was drained (and is not the tunnel which drained it visible to-day?); how Camillus, the dictator, by a tunnel underground took the city, and forestalled the sacrifice; how Juno came from Veii, and took up her abode upon the Aventine; how Camillus triumphed; and how the nemesis fell upon him, and he was banished—all this and more is told by Livy in his matchless way. It is an epic, and a beautiful epic."—R. F. Horton, *Hist. of the Romans*, ch. 4.—At the time of the conquest of Veii, there was a proposal that half the inhabitants of Rome should remove to the empty city, and found a new state. It was defeated with difficulty. A little later, when the Gauls had destroyed Rome, its citizens, having

found Veii a strong and comfortable place of refuge, were nearly persuaded to remain there and not rebuild their former home. Thus narrowly was the "Eternal City" saved to history.—H. G. Liddell, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 2, ch. 13 and 15.

B. C. 390-347.—Invasions by the Gauls.—Destruction of the city.—"Before the time we are now speaking of, there had been a great movement in these Celtic nations [of Gael and Cymri]. Two great swarms went out from Gaul. Of these, one crossed the Alps into Italy, the other, moving eastward, in the course of time penetrated into Greece. It is supposed that the Gael who dwelt in the eastern parts of Gaul, being oppressed by Cymric tribes of the west and north, went forth to seek new homes in distant lands. At all events, it is certain that large bodies of Celts passed over the Alps before and after this time, and having once tasted the wines, and eaten the fruits of Italy, were in no hurry to return from that fair land into their own less hospitable regions. We read of one swarm after another pressing into the land of promise, parties of Lingones, whose fathers lived about Langres in Champagne, Boians, whose name is traced in French Bourbon and Italian Bologna, Senones, whose old country was about Sens, and who have left record of themselves in the name of Senigaglia (Sena Gallica) on the coast of the Adriatic. They overran the rich plains of Northern Italy, and so occupied the territory which lies between the Alps, the Apennines and the Adriatic [except Liguria] that the Romans called this territory Gallia Cisalpina, or Hither Gaul. The northern Etruscans gave way before these fierce barbarians, and their name is heard of no more in those parts. Thence the Gauls crossed the Apennines into southern Etruria, and while they were ravaging that country they first came in contact with the sons of Rome. The common date for this event is 390 B. C.

The tribe which took this course were of the Senones, as all authors say, and therefore we may suppose they were Gaelic; but it has been thought they were mixed with Cymri, since the name of their king or chief was Brennus, and Brenhin is Cymric for a king. The Romans met the invaders on the banks of the Arno, a little stream from the Sabine Hills which flows into the Tiber, and were terribly defeated there. The Gauls entered Rome and found, as the ancient story is, only a few venerable senators, sitting in their chairs and robes of state, whom they slew, because one of the senators resented the stroking of his beard by an insolent barbarian. The remaining inhabitants had withdrawn into the Capitol, or taken refuge at Veii and Cære. After pillaging and burning the city, the Gauls laid siege to the Capitol, and strove desperately for seven months to overcome its defenders by arms or famine. In the end they retreated, without success, but whether bribed, or driven, or weakened by sickness, is matter of uncertainty. The Romans cherished many legends connected with the siege of the Capitol,—like that, for example, of the sentinel and the sacred geese. "Thirty years after the first irruption (361 B. C.), we hear that another host of Senonian Gauls burst into Latium from the north, and, in alliance with the people of Tibur, ravaged the lands of Rome, Latium and Campania. For four years they continued their ravages, and then we hear of

them no more. A third irruption followed, ten years later [B. C. 347], of still more formidable character. At that time, the Gauls formed a stationary camp on the Alban Hills and kept Rome in perpetual terror. After some months they poured southwards, and disappear from history"—H. G. Liddell, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 2, ch. 14 (v. 1).

ALSO IN: T. Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 2, ch. 4.—A. J. Church, *Stories from Livy*, ch. 13-14.

B. C. 376-367.—The Licinian Laws.—"C. Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius . . . being Tribunes of the Plebs together in the year 376 B. C. promulgated the three bills which have ever since borne the name of the Licinian Rogations. These were I That of all debts on which interest had been paid, the sum of the interest paid should be deducted from the principal, and the remainder paid off in three successive years. II That no citizen should hold more than 500 jugera (nearly 320 acres) of the Public Land, nor should feed on the public pastures more than 100 head of larger cattle and 500 of smaller, under penalty of a heavy fine. III That henceforth Consuls, not Consular Tribunes, should always be elected, and that one of the two Consuls must be a Plebeian. The patricians made a desperate resistance to the adoption of these proposed enactments for ten years, during most of which long period the operations of government were nearly paralyzed by the obstinate tribunes, who inflexibly employed their formidable power of veto to compel submission to the popular demand. In the end they prevailed, and the Licinian rogations became Laws.—H. G. Liddell, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 2, ch. 15 (v. 1).—"Licinius evidently designed reuniting the divided members of the plebeian body. Not one of them, whether rich or poor, but seems called back by these bills to stand with his own order from that time on. If this supposition was true, then Licinius was the greatest leader whom the plebeians ever had up to the time of Cæsar. But from the first he was disappointed. The plebeians who most wanted relief cared so little for having the consulship opened to the richer men of their estate that they would readily have dropped the bill concerning it, lest a demand should endanger their own desires. In the same temper the more eminent men of the order, themselves among the creditors of the poor and the tenants of the domain, would have quashed the proceedings of the tribunes respecting the discharge of debt and the distribution of land, so that they carried the third bill only, which would make them consuls without disturbing their possessions. While the plebeians continued severed from one another, the patricians drew together in resistance to the bills. Licinius stood forth demanding, at once, all that it had cost his predecessors their utmost energy to demand, singly and at long intervals, from the patricians.

The very comprehensiveness of his measures proved the safeguard of Licinius. Had he preferred but one of these demands, he would have been unhesitatingly opposed by the great majority of the patricians. On the other hand he would have had comparatively doubtful support from the plebs." In the end, after a struggle of ten years duration, Licinius and Sextius carried their three bills, together with a fourth, brought forward later, which opened to the plebeians the office of the duumvirs, who con-

sulted the Sibylline books. 'It takes all the subsequent history of Rome to measure the consequences of the Revolution achieved by Licinius and Sextius; but the immediate working of their laws could have been nothing but a disappointment to their originators and upholders . . . For some ten years the law regarding the consulship was observed, after which it was occasionally violated, but can still be called a success. The laws of relief, as may be supposed of all such sumptuary enactments, were violated from the first. No general recovery of the public land from those occupying more than five hundred jugera ever took place. Consequently there was no general division of land among the landless class. Conflicting claims and jealousy on the part of the poor must have done much to embarrass and prevent the execution of the law. No system of land survey to distinguish between 'ager publicus' and 'ager privatus' existed. Licinius Stolo himself was afterwards convicted of violating his own law. The law respecting debts met with much the same obstacles. The causes of embarrassment and poverty being much the same and undisturbed, soon reproduced the effects which no reduction of interest or installment of principal could effectually remove. . . . These laws, then, had little or no effect upon the domain question or the redistribution of land. They did not fulfil the evident expectation of their author in uniting the plebeians into one political body. This was impossible. What they did do was to break up and practically abolish the patriciate. Henceforth were the Roman people divided into rich and poor only.'—A. Stephenson, *Public Lands and Agrarian Laws of the Roman Republic* (Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies, 9th ser., nos. 7-8).

ALSO IN: T. Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 2, ch. 8 (v. 1).—S. Eliot, *The Liberty of Rome*, bk. 2, ch. 7 (v. 1).

B. C. 366.—Institution of the Prætorship.—"By the establishment of the prætorship (366 B. C.) the office of chief judge was separated as a distinct magistracy from the consulship. The prætor was always looked upon as the colleague of the consuls. He was elected in the same manner as the consuls by centuriate comitia, and, moreover, under the same auspices. He was furnished with the imperium, had lictors and fasces. He represented the consuls in town by assembling the senate, conducting its proceedings, executing its decrees. . . . Up to the time of the first Punic war one prætor only was annually elected. Then a second was added to conduct the jurisdiction between citizens and foreigners. A distinction was now made between the city prætor (prætor urbanus), who was always looked upon as having a higher dignity, and the foreign prætor (prætor peregrinus). On the final establishment of the two provinces of Sicily and Sardinia, probably 227 B. C., two new prætors were appointed to superintend the regular government of those provinces, and still later on two more were added for the two provinces of Spain. The number of annual prætors now amounted to six, and so it remained until the legislation of Sulla."—W. Ihne, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 6, ch. 5.—See, also, **CONSUL, ROMAN**.

B. C. 343-300.—The Samnite Wars.—When the Romans had made themselves dominant in middle Italy, and the Samnites [see **SAMNITES**] in southern Italy, the question which of the two

peoples should be masters of the peninsula at large was sure to demand settlement. About the middle of the fourth century, B. C., it began to urge the two rivals into collision, and the next two generations of Romans were busied chiefly with Samnite Wars, of which they fought three, with brief intervals to divide them, and at the end of which the Samnite name had been practically erased from history. The first hostilities grew out of a quarrel between the Samnites of the mountains and their degenerate countrymen of Capua and Campania. The latter sought help from the Romans, and, according to the Romans, surrendered their city to them in order to secure it, but this is obviously untrue. The First Samnite War, which followed this (B. C. 343-341), had no definite result, and seems to have been brought to an end rather abruptly by a mutiny in the Roman army and by trouble between Rome and her Latin allies. According to the Roman annals there were three great battles fought in this war, one on Mount Gaurus, and two elsewhere, but Mommsen and other historians entirely distrust the historic details as handed down. The Second or Great Samnite War occurred after an interval of fifteen years, during which time the Romans had conquered all Latium, reducing their Latin kinsmen from confederates to subjects. That accomplished, the Romans were quite ready to measure swords again with their more important rivals in the south. The long, desperate and doubtful war which ensued was of twenty-two years duration (B. C. 326-304). In the first years of this war victory was with the Romans and the Samnites sued for peace, but the terms offered were too hard for them and they fought on. Then Fortune smiled on them and gave them an opportunity to inflict on their haughty enemy one of the greatest humiliations that Rome in all her history ever suffered. The entire Roman army, commanded by the two consuls of the year, was caught in a mountain defile (B. C. 321), at a place called the Caudine Forks, and compelled to surrender to the Samnite general, C. Pontius. The consuls and other officers of the Romans signed a treaty of peace with Pontius, and all were then set free, after giving up their armor and their cloaks and passing "under the yoke." But the Roman senate refused to ratify the treaty, and gave up those who had signed it to the Samnites. The latter refused to receive the offered prisoners and vainly demanded a fulfilment of the treaty. Their great victory had been thrown away, and, although they won another important success at Lautula, the final result of the war which they were forced to resume was disastrous to them. After twenty-two years of obstinate fighting they accepted terms (B. C. 304) which stripped them of all their territory on the sea-coast, and required them to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome. The peace so purchased lasted less than six years. The Samnites were tempted (B. C. 298) while the Romans had a war with Etruscans and Gauls on their hands, to attempt the avenging of their humiliations. Their fate was decided at the battle of Sentinum (B. C. 295), won by the old consul, Q. Fabius Maximus, against the allied Samnites and Gauls, through the heroic self-sacrifice of his colleague, P. Decius Mus [imitating his father, of the same name—see below: B. C. 389-388]. The Samnites struggled hopelessly on some five years

longer and submitted finally in 290 B. C. Their great leader, Pontius, was put to death in the dungeons of the state prison under the Capitoline.—J. Michelet, *Hist. of the Roman Republic*, bk. 2, ch. 1.

ALSO IN: H. G. Liddell, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 2, ch. 19, and 21-24.—T. Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 2, ch. 6.

B. C. 340.—The Publilian Laws.—"In the second year of the Latin war (340 B. C.) the Plebeian Consul, Q. Publilius Philo, being named Dictator by his Patrician colleague for some purpose now unknown, proposed and carried three laws still further abridging the few remaining privileges of the Patrician Lords. The first Publilian law enacted that one of the Censors, as one of the Consuls, must be a Plebeian. . . . The second gave fuller sanction to the principle already established, that the Resolutions of the Plebeian Assembly should have the force of law. The third provided that all laws passed at the Comitia of the Centuries or of the Tribes should receive beforehand the sanction of the Curies"—H. G. Liddell, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 3, ch. 20 (v. 1).—See a discussion of these laws in their relation to the preceding Valerio-Horatian law, and the subsequent Hortensian laws, below: B. C. 286.

B. C. 339-338.—Subjugation of the Latins.—Grant of pseudo-citizenship.—The real concession of the next century and its effects.—A league between the Romans and their kinsmen and neighbors, the Latins, of Tibur, Praeneste, Lanuvium, Aricia, Velitrae, and other towns, as well as with the Hernicans, existed during a century and a half, from the treaty of Sp. Cassius, B. C. 498, according to the Roman annals. At first, the members of the league stood together on fairly equal terms fighting successful wars with the Volscians, the Aequians and the Etruscans. But all the time the Romans contrived to be the greater gainers by the alliance, and as their power grew their arrogance increased, until the Latin allies were denied almost all share in the conquests and the spoils which they helped to win. The discontent which this caused fermented to an outbreak after the first of the Samnite wars. The Latins demanded to be admitted to Roman citizenship and to a share in the government of the state. Their demand was haughtily and even insultingly refused, and a fierce, deadly war between the kindred peoples ensued (B. C. 339-338). The decisive battle of the war was fought under Mount Vesuvius, and the Romans were said to have owed their victory to the self-sacrifice of the plebeian consul, P. Decius Mus, who, by a solemn ceremony, devoted himself and the army of the enemy to the infernal gods, and then threw himself into the thick of the fight, to be slain. The Latin towns were all reduced to dependence upon Rome,—some with a certain autonomy left to them, some with none. "Thus, isolated, politically powerless, socially dependent on Rome, the old towns of the Latins, once so proud and so free, became gradually provincial towns of the Roman territory. . . . The old Latium disappeared and a new Latium took its place, which, by means of Latin colonies, carried the Roman institutions, in the course of two centuries, over the whole peninsula."—W. Ihne, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 3, ch. 6 (v. 1).—"The Latins, being conquered, surrendered,—that is to say, they gave up to the Romans their cities, their ~~women~~, their laws and their lands.

Their position was cruel. A consul said in the senate that, if they did not wish Rome to be surrounded by a vast desert, the fate of the Latins should be settled with some regard to clemency. Livy does not clearly explain what was done. If we are to trust him, the Latins obtained the right of Roman citizenship without including in the political privileges the right of suffrage, or in the civil the right of marriage. We may also note, that these new citizens were not counted in the census. It is clear that the senate deceived the Latins in giving them the name of Roman citizens. This title disguised a real subjection, since the men who bore it had the obligations of citizens without the rights. So true is this, that several Latin cities revolted, in order that this pretended citizenship might be withdrawn. A century passed, and, without Livy's notice of the fact, we might easily discover that Rome had changed her policy. The condition of the Latins having the rights of citizens, without suffrage and without connubium, no longer existed. Rome had withdrawn from them the title of citizens, or, rather, had done away with this falsehood, and had decided to restore to the different cities their municipal governments, their laws, and their magistracies. But by a skilful device Rome opened a door which, narrow as it was, permitted subjects to enter the Roman city. It granted to every Latin who had been a magistrate in his native city the right to become a Roman citizen at the expiration of his term of office. This time the gift of this right was complete and without reserve; suffrage, magistracies, census, marriage, private law, all were included.

By being a citizen of Rome, a man gained honor, wealth, and security. The Latins, therefore, became eager to obtain this title, and used all sorts of means to acquire it. One day, when Rome wished to appear a little severe, she found that 12,000 of them had obtained it through fraud. Ordinarily, Rome shut her eyes, knowing that by this means her population increased, and that the losses of war were thus repaired. But the Latin cities suffered, their richest inhabitants became Roman citizens, and Latium was impoverished. The taxes, from which the richest were exempt as Roman citizens, became more and more burdensome, and the contingent of soldiers that had to be furnished to Rome was every year more difficult to fill up."—N. D. Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, bk. 5, ch. 2.

B. C. 326-304 ?—Abolition of personal slavery for debt. See DEBT, ROMAN LAW CONCERNING.

B. C. 312.—The censorship of Appius Claudius.—His admission of the freedmen to the Tribes.—The building of the Appian Way.—"Appius Claudius, . . . afterwards known as Appius the Blind, . . . was elected Censor [B. C. 312], . . . and, as was usual, entered, with his colleague, Plautius Decianus, upon the charge of filling the vacancies which had occurred within the Senate since the last nominations to that body by the preceding Censors. The new elections were always made, it appears, from certain lists of citizens who had either borne great offices or possessed high rank; but Appius, determined from the beginning to secure his authority, either for his own sake or for that of his faction, through any support he could command, now named several of the lowest men in Rome as Senators, amongst whom he even admitted

some sons of freedmen, who, as such, were scarcely to be considered to be absolutely free, much less to be worthy of any political advancement. The nomination, backed by a powerful party, out of rather than in the Senate, and vainly, if not feebly, opposed by Plautius Decianus, who resigned his office in disgust at his colleague, was carried, but was set aside in the following year by the Consuls, who could call such Senators as they pleased, and those only, as it seems, to their sessions. Appius, still keeping his place, was soon after assailed by some of the Tribunes, now the representatives, as must be remembered, of the moderate party, rather than of the Plebeian estate. At this the Censor admitted all the freedmen in Rome to the Tribes, amongst which he distributed them in such a manner as promised him the most effectual support. Appius, however, was not wholly absorbed in mere political intrigues. A large portion of his energy and his ambition was spent upon the Way [Appian Way] and the Aqueduct which have borne his name to our day, and which, in his own time, were undertakings so vast as to obtain for him the name of 'the Hundred handed'. He was an author, a jurist, a philosopher, and a poet, besides. Cneius Flavius, the son of a freedman, one, therefore, of the partisans on whom the Censor and his faction were willing to lavish pretended favor in return for unstinted support, was employed by Appius near his person, in the capacity of private secretary. Appius, who, as already mentioned, was a jurist and an author, appears to have compiled a sort of manual concerning the business days of the Calendar and the forms of instituting or conducting a suit before the courts, both these subjects being kept in profound concealment from the mass of the people, who were therefore obliged, in case of any legal proceeding, to resort first to the Pontiff to learn on what day, and next to the Patrician jurist to inquire in what form, they could lawfully manage their affairs before the judicial tribunals. This manual was very likely given to Flavius to copy; but it could scarcely have been with the knowledge, much less with the desire, of his employer, that it was published. But Flavius stood in a position which tempted him, whether he were generous or designing, to divulge the secrets of the manual he had obtained, and it may very well have been from a desire to conciliate the real party of the Plebeians, which ranked above him, as a freedman, that he published his discoveries. He did not go unrewarded, but was raised to various offices, amongst them to the tribuneship of the Plebeians, and finally to the curule edileship, in which his disclosures are sometimes represented as having been made. . . . The predominance of the popular party is plainly attested in the same year by the censorship of Fabius Maximus and Decius Mus, the two great generals, who, succeeding to Appius Claudius, removed the freedmen he had enrolled amongst all the Tribes into four Tribes by themselves.—S. Eliot, *The Liberty of Rome: Rome*, bk. 2, ch. 8 (v. 2).

B. C. 300.—The Ogulnian Law.—In the year 300 B. C. Quintus and Cneius Ogulnius appear in the tribuneship, as zealous champions of the popular party against the combination of the highest and the lowest classes. Instead, however, of making any wild attack upon their

adversaries, the Tribunes seem to have exerted themselves in the wiser view of detaching the populace from its Patrician leaders, in order to unite the severed forces of the Plebeians upon a common ground. . . . A bill to increase the number of the Pontiffs by four, and that of the Augurs by five new incumbents, who should then, and, as was probably added, thenceforward, be chosen from the Plebeians, was proposed by the Tribunes. . . . Though some strenuous opposition was made to its passage, it became a law. The highest places of the priesthood, as well as of the civil magistracies, were opened to the Plebeians, whose name will no longer serve us as it has done, so entirely have the old distinctions of their estate from that of the Patricians been obliterated. The Ogulni did not follow up the success they had gained, and the alliance between the lower Plebeians and the higher Patricians was rather cemented than loosened by a law professedly devised to the advantage of the upper classes of the Plebeians.—S. Eliot, *Liberty of Rome: Rome*, bk. 2, ch. 9 (v. 2).

B. C. 295-191.—Conquest of the Cisalpine Gauls.—Early in the 3d century B. C. the Gauls on the southern side of the Alps, being reinforced from Transalpine Gaul, again entered Roman territory, encouraged and assisted by the Samnites, who were then just engaging in their third war with Rome. A Roman legion which first encountered them in Etruria, under Scipio Barbatus, was annihilated B. C. 295. But the vengeance of Rome overtook them before that year closed at Sentinum, where the consuls Fabius and Decius ended the war at one blow. The Gauls were quiet after this for ten years, but in 285 B. C. the Senonian tribes invaded Etruria again and inflicted an alarming defeat on the Romans at Arretium. They also put to death some Roman ambassadors who were sent to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, after which the war of Rome against them was pushed to extermination. The whole race was destroyed or reduced to slavery and Roman colonies were established on its lands. The Boian Gauls, between the Apennines and the Po, now resented this intrusion on Gallic territory, but were terribly defeated at the Vadimonian Lake and sued for peace. This peace was maintained for nearly sixty years, during which time the Romans were strengthening themselves beyond the Apennines, with a strong colony at Ariminum (modern Rimini) on the Adriatic Sea, with thick settlements in the Senonian country, and with a great road—the Via Flaminia—in process of construction from Rome northwards across the Apennines, through Umbria and along the Adriatic coast to Ariminum. The Boians saw that the yoke was being prepared for them, and in 225 B. C. they made a great effort to break it. In the first encounter with them the Romans were beaten, as in previous wars, but at the great battle of Telamon, fought soon afterwards, the Gallic hosts were almost totally destroyed. The next year the Boians were completely subjugated, and in 228 and 223 B. C. the Insubrians were likewise conquered, their capital Mediolanum (Milan) occupied, and all north Italy to the Alps brought under Roman rule, except as the Ligurians in the mountains were still unsubdued, and the Cenomani and the Veneti retained a nominal independence as allies of Rome. But Hannibal's invasion of Italy, occurring in

after, interrupted the settlement and pacification of the Gallic country and made a reconquest necessary after the war with the Carthaginians had been ended. The new Roman fortified colony of Placentia was taken by the Gauls and most of the inhabitants slain. The sister colony of Cremona was besieged, but resisted until relieved. Among the battles fought, that of Comum, B. C. 196, appears to have been the most important. The war was prolonged until 191 B. C., after which there appears to have been no more resistance to Roman rule among the Cisalpine Gauls.—W. Ihnc, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 3, ch. 12-18; bk. 4, ch. 5; bk. 5, ch. 7.

B. C. 286.—The last Secession of the Plebs.—The Hortensian Laws.—"About the year 286 B. C. the mass of the poorer citizens [of Rome], consisting (as may be guessed) chiefly of those who had lately been enfranchised by Appius, left the city and encamped in an oak-wood upon the Janiculum. To appease this last Secession, Q. Hortensius was named Dictator, and he succeeded in bringing back the people by allowing them to enact several laws upon the spot. One of these Hortensian laws was probably an extension of the Agrarian law of Curius, granting not seven but fourteen jugera (about 9 acres) to each of the poorer citizens. Another provided for the reduction of debt. But that which is best known as the Hortensian law was one enacting that all Resolutions of the Tribes should be law for the whole Roman people. This was nearly in the same terms as the law passed by Valerius and Horatius at the close of the Decemvirate, and that passed by Publius Philo the Dictator, after the conquest of Latium. Hortensius died in his Dictatorship,—an unparalleled event, which was considered ominous. Yet with his death ended the last Secession of the People."—H. G. Liddell, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 3, ch. 25 (v. 1).—"It is impossible to suppose that the assembly of the plebs advanced at a single step from the meeting of a private corporation to be the delegated alter ego of the sovereign populus Romanus. We may be sure that the right of the plebs to legislate for the nation was accorded under checks and qualifications, long before they were invested with this absolute authority. We find, in fact, two occasions prior to the Hortensian law, on which the legislative competency of the plebs is said to have been recognised. The first of these is the Valerio-Horatian Law of B. C. 449 [see above: B. C. 449], the year after the decemvirate, the second the law of the dictator Publius Philo, B. C. 339 [see above: B. C. 340]. Unfortunately the historians describe these laws in words which merely repeat the contents of the Hortensian law. . . . Some modern writers have been disposed to get over the difficulty by the conjecture that the laws of Publius Philo and Hortensius were only re-enactments of that of Valerius and Horatius, and that the full powers of the plebs date back to the year B. C. 449. Mommsen's arguments against this view appear to me conclusive. Why should the jurists universally refer the powers exercised by the plebs to a mere re-enactment, rather than to the original source of their authority? . . . Niebuhr believes that the law of Valerius and Horatius gave the plebs legislative authority, subject to the consent of a sort of upper house, the general assembly of the patrician body; he identifies this assembly with the *'comitia curiata'*.

. . . Mommsen's method of dealing with the question" is to strike out the Valerio-Horatian law and that of Publius Philo from the series of enactments relating to the plebs. "He believes that both these laws regulated the proceedings of the *'comitia populi tributa'*, and are transferred by a mere blunder of our authorities to the *'concilium plebis tributum'*. . . . But the supposition of a possible blunder is too small a foundation on which to establish such an explanation. . . . I believe that, for the purpose of showing how the legislative power of the plebs may gradually have established itself, the known powers of the sovereign *'populus'*, of the magistrates of the Roman people, and of the senate, will supply us with sufficient material; and that the assumptions of the German historians are therefore unnecessary. . . . I imagine . . . that the law of Valerius and Horatius simply recognised *de jure* the power which Icilius [see above: B. C. 456] had exercised *de facto*: that is to say, it ordered the consul to bring any petition of the plebs at once to the notice of the senate, and empowered the tribune to plead his cause before the senate; perhaps it went further and deprived the consul of his right of arbitrarily refusing to accede to the recommendation of the senate, if such were given, and directed that he should in such case convene the comitia and submit the proposal to its vote. If this restriction of the power of the consul removed the first obstacle in the way of tribunician bills supported by the vote of the plebs, another facility still remained to be given. The consul might be deprived of the opportunity of sheltering himself behind the moral responsibility of the senate. Does it not suggest itself as a plausible conjecture that the law of Publius Philo struck out the intervening senatorial deliberation and compelled the consul to bring the petition of the plebs immediately before the *'comitia populi Romani'*? If such were the tenor of the Publilian law, it would be only a very slight inaccuracy to describe it as conferring legislative power on the plebs. . . . The Hortensian law which formally transferred the sovereign power to the plebs would thus be a change greater *de jure* than *de facto*. . . . This power, if the theory put forward in these pages be correct, was placed within the reach of the plebeians by the law of Valerius and Horatius, and was fully secured to them by the law of Publius Philo."—J. L. Strachan-Davidson, *The Growth of Plebeian Privilege at Rome* (*English Historical Rev.*, April, 1886).—"With the passing of the Lex Hortensia the long struggle between the orders came to an end. The ancient patrician gentes remained, but the exclusive privileges of the patriciate as a ruling order were gone. For the great offices of state and for seats in the senate the plebeians were by law equally eligible with patricians. The assemblies, whether of people or plebs, were independent of patrician control. In private life inter-marriages between patricians and plebeians were recognised as lawful, and entailed no disabilities on the children. Finally, great as continued to be the prestige attaching to patrician birth, and prominent as was the part played in the subsequent history by individual patricians and by some of the patrician houses, the plebs were now in numbers and even in wealth the preponderant section of the people. Whatever struggles might arise in

the future, a second struggle between patricians and plebeians was an impossibility. Such being the case, it might have been expected that the separate organisation, to which the victory of the plebs was largely due, would, now that the reason for its existence was gone, have disappeared. Had this happened, the history of the republic might have been different. As it was, this plebeian machinery—the plebeian tribunes, assemblies, and resolutions—survived untouched, and lived to play a decisive part in a new conflict, not between patricians and plebeians, but between a governing class, itself mainly plebeian, and the mass of the people, and finally to place at the head of the state a patrician Caesar. Nor was the promise of a genuine democracy, offered by the opening of the magistracies and the Hortensian law, fulfilled. For one hundred and fifty years afterwards the drift of events was in the opposite direction, and when the popular leaders of the first century B. C. endeavoured to make government by the people a reality, it was already too late.—H. F. Pelham, *Outlines of Roman Hist.*, bk 2, ch 1.

B. C. 282-275.—War with Tarentum and Pyrrhus.—The conquest of the Samnites by the Romans, which was completed in 290 B. C., extended the power of the latter to the very gates of the Greek cities on the Tarentine gulf, of which Tarentum was the chief. At once there arose a party in Tarentum which foresaw the hopelessness of resistance to Roman aggression and favored a spontaneous submission to the supremacy of the formidable city on the Tiber. The patriotic party which opposed this humiliation looked abroad for aid, and found an eager ally in the Molossian king of Epirus, the adventurous and warlike Pyrrhus (see EPIRUS), who sprang from the family of Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great. In the autumn of 282 B. C., the inevitable war between Rome and Tarentum broke out, and early in 280 B. C. Pyrrhus landed a powerful army in Italy, comprising 20,000 heavy-armed foot-soldiers, 8,000 horse, 2,000 archers and 20 elephants. The Romans met him soon after at Heraclea, on the coast. It was the first collision of the Roman legion and the Macedonian phalanx, and the first encounter of the Latin soldier with the huge war-beast of the Asiatics. Pyrrhus won a bloody victory, but won it at such cost that it terrified him. He tried at once to arrange a peace, but the proud Romans made no terms with an invader. Next year he inflicted another great defeat upon them near Asculum, in Apulia; but nothing seemed to come of it, and the indomitable Romans were as little conquered as ever. Then the restless Epirot king took his much shaken army over to Sicily and joined the Greeks there in their war with the Carthaginians. The latter were driven out of all parts of the island except Lilybæum; but failing, after a long siege, to reduce Lilybæum, Pyrrhus lost the whole fruits of his success. The autumn of 276 B. C. found him back again in Italy, where the Romans, during his absence of three years, had recovered much ground. Next year, in the valley of Beneventum, they had their revenge upon him for Heraclea and Asculum, and he was glad to take the shattered remains of his army back to Greece. His career of ambition and adventure was ended three years afterwards (see MACEDONIA: B. C. 277-244), under the walls of Agos-

by a tile which a woman flung down upon his head. In due time all Magna Græcia succumbed to the dominion of Rome, and the commerce and wealth of Tarentum passed over under Roman auspices to the new port of Brundisium, on the Adriatic side of the same promontory.—T. Arnold, *Hist. of Rome*, ch. 86-87 (p. 2).

ALSO IN: W. Ihne, *Hist. of Rome*, bk 3, ch. 14-17.

B. C. 275.—Union of Italy under the sovereignty of the republic.—Differing relations of the subject communities to the sovereign state.—Roman citizenship as variously qualified.—“For the first time Italy was united into one state under the sovereignty of the Roman community. What political privileges the Roman community on this occasion withdrew from the various other Italian communities and took into its own sole keeping, or in other words, what conception of political power is to be associated with this sovereignty of Rome, we are nowhere expressly informed. The only privileges that demonstrably belonged to it were the right of making war, of concluding treaties, and of coining money. No Italian community could declare war against any foreign state, or even negotiate with it, or coin money for circulation. On the other hand, every war and every state treaty resolved upon by the Roman people were binding in law on all the other Italian communities, and the silver money of Rome was legally current throughout all Italy. It is probable that formerly the general rights of the leading community extended no further. But to these rights there was necessarily attached a prerogative of sovereignty that practically went far beyond them. The relations, which the Italians sustained to the leading community, exhibited in detail great inequalities. In this point of view, in addition to the full burgesses of Rome, there were three different classes of subjects to be distinguished. The full franchise itself, in the first place, was extended as far as was possible, without wholly abandoning the idea of an urban commonwealth in the case of the Roman commune. Not only was the old burgess domain extended by individual assignation far into Etruria on the one hand and into Campania on the other, but, after the example was first set in the case of Tusculum, a great number of communities more or less remote were gradually incorporated with the Roman state and merged in it completely. . . . Accordingly the Roman burgess body probably extended northward as far as the neighbourhood of Caere, eastward to the Apennines, and southward as far as, or beyond, Formiæ. In its case, however, we cannot use the term ‘boundaries’ in a strict sense. Isolated communities within this region, such as Tibur, Praeneste, Signia, and Norba, had not the Roman franchise; others beyond its bounds, such as Sena, possessed it; and it is probable that families of Roman farmers were already dispersed throughout all Italy, either altogether isolated or associated in villages. Among the subject communities the most privileged and most important class was that of the Latin towns, which now embraced but few of the original participants in the Alban festival (and these, with the exception of Tibur and Praeneste, altogether insignificant communities), but on the other hand obtained accessions equally numerous and important in the autonomous communities

ties founded by Rome in and even beyond Italy — the Latin colonies, as they were called — and was always increasing in consequence of new settlements of the same nature. These new urban communities of Roman origin, but with Latin rights, became more and more the real buttresses of the Roman rule. These Latins, however, were by no means those with whom the battles of the lake Regillus and Trifanum had been fought.

The Latins of the later times of the republic, on the contrary, consisted almost exclusively of communities, which from the beginning had honoured Rome as their capital and parent city; which, settled amidst peoples of alien language and of alien habits, were attached to Rome by community of language, of law, and of manners, which, as the petty tyrants of the surrounding districts, were obliged doubtless to lean on Rome for their very existence, like advanced posts leaning upon the main army.

The main advantage enjoyed by them, as compared with other subjects, consisted in their equalization with burgesses of the Roman community so far as regarded private rights — those of traffic and barter as well as those of inheritance. The Roman franchise was in future conferred only on such citizens of these townships as had filled a public magistracy in them; in that case, however, it was, apparently from the first, conferred without any limitation of rights.

The two other classes of Roman subjects, the subject Roman burgesses and the non-Latin allied communities, were in a far inferior position. The communities having the Roman franchise without the privilege of electing or being elected (*civitas sine suffragio*), approached nearer in form to the full Roman burgesses than the Latin communities that were legally autonomous. Their members were, as Roman burgesses, liable to all the burdens of citizenship, especially to the levy and taxation, and were subject to the Roman census, whereas, as their very designation indicates, they had no claim to its honorary rights. They lived under Roman laws, and had justice administered by Roman judges, but the hardship was lessened by the fact that their former common law was, after undergoing revision by Rome, restored to them as Roman local law, and a 'deputy' (*praefectus*) annually nominated by the Roman praetor was sent to them to conduct its administration. In other respects these communities retained their own administration, and chose for that purpose their own chief magistrates.

Lastly, the relations of the non-Latin allied communities were subject, as a matter of course, to very various rules, just as each particular treaty of alliance had defined them. Many of these perpetual treaties of alliance, such as that with the Hernican communities and those with Neapolis, Nola, and Heraclea, granted rights comparatively comprehensive, while others, such as the Tarentine and Samnite treaties, probably approximated to despotism. . . . The central administration at Rome solved the difficult problem of preserving its supervision and control over the mass of the Italian communities liable to furnish contingents, partly by means of the four Italian quaestors, partly by the extension of the Roman censorship over the whole of the dependent communities. The quaestors of the fleet, along with their more immediate duty, had to raise the revenues from the newly acquired domains and to control the

contingents of the new allies; they were the first Roman functionaries to whom a residence and district out of Rome were assigned by law, and they formed the necessary intermediate authority between the Roman senate and the Italian communities. . . . Lastly, with this military administrative union of the whole peoples dwelling to the south of the Apennines, as far as the Iapygian promontory and the straits of Rhegium, was connected the rise of a new name common to them all — that of 'the men of the toga' (*togati*), which was their oldest designation in Roman state law, or that of the 'Italians,' which was the appellation originally in use among the Greeks and thence became universally current.

As the Gallic territory down to a late period stood contrasted in law with the Italian, so the 'men of the toga' were thus named in contrast to the Celtic 'men of the hose' (*braccati*), and it is probable that the repelling of the Celtic invasions played an important diplomatic part as a reason or pretext for centralizing the military resources of Italy in the hands of the Romans.

The name Italia, which originally and even in the Greek authors of the 5th century — in Aristotle for instance — pertained only to the modern Calabria, was transferred to the whole land of these wearers of the toga. The earliest boundaries of this great armed confederacy led by Rome, or of the new Italy, reached on the western coast as far as the district of Leghorn south of the Arnus, on the east as far as the Aesis north of Ancona.

The new Italy had thus become a political unity, it was also in the course of becoming a national unity." — T. Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. 2, ch. 7 (p. 1).

B. C. 264-241.—The first Punic War.—Conquest of Sicily.—"The ten years preceding the First Punic War were probably a time of the greatest physical prosperity which the mass of the Roman people ever knew. Within twenty years two agrarian laws had been passed on a most extensive scale, and the poorer citizens had received besides what may be called a large dividend in money out of the lands which the state had conquered. In addition to this, the farming of the state domains, or of their produce, furnished those who had money with abundant opportunities of profitable adventure. . . . No wonder, then, that war was at this time popular.

But our 'pleasant vices' are ever made instruments to scourge us, and the First Punic War, into which the Roman people forced the senate to enter, not only in its long course bore most heavily upon the poorer citizens, but, from the feelings of enmity which it excited in the breast of Hamilcar, led most surely to that fearful visitation of Hannibal's sixteen years' invasion of Italy, which destroyed for ever, not indeed the pride of the Roman dominion, but the well being of the Roman people." — T. Arnold, *Hist. of Rome*, pp. 538-540.—"The occasion of the First Punic War was dishonourable to Rome. Certain mercenary soldiers had seized Messana in Sicily, destroyed the citizens, and held possession against the Syracusans, 264 B. C. They were beaten in the field, and blockaded in Messana by Hiero, king of Syracuse, and then, driven to extremity, sent a deputation to Rome, praying that 'the Romans, the sovereigns of Italy, would not suffer an Italian people to be destroyed by Greeks and Carthaginians,' 264 B. C. It was singular that such a request should be made to

the Romans, who only six years before had chastised the military revolt of their brethren Mamertines in Rhegium, taking the city by storm, scourging and beheading the defenders, and then restoring the old inhabitants (270 B.C.). The senate was opposed to the request of the Messana deputation; but the consuls and the people of Rome, already jealous of Carthaginian influence in Sicily and the Mediterranean, resolved to protect the Mamertine buccaneers and to receive them as their friends and allies. Thus dishonourably and disgracefully did the Romans depart from their purely Italian and continental policy, which had so well succeeded, to enter upon another system, the results of which no one then could foresee. Some excuse may be found in the fact that the Carthaginians had been placed by their partisans in Messana in possession of the citadel, and this great rival power of Carthage was thus brought unpleasantly near to the recent conquered territory of Rome. The fear of Carthaginian influence overcame the natural reluctance to an alliance with traitors false to their military oath, the murderers and plunderers of a city which they were bound to protect. Thus began 'the First Punic War, which lasted, without intermission, 22 years, a longer space of time than the whole period occupied by the wars of the French Revolution'. In this war Duilius won the first naval battle near Myla (Melarro). Regulus invaded Africa proper, the territory of Carthage, with great success, until beaten and taken prisoner at Zama, 256-255 B.C. The war was carried on in Sicily and on the sea until 241 B.C., when peace was made on conditions that the Carthaginians should evacuate Sicily and make no war upon Hiero, king of Sicily (the ally of the Romans), that they should pay 3,200 Euboic talents (about £110,000) within ten years, 241 B.C. The effects of an exhausting war were soon overcome by ancient nations, so that both Rome and Carthage rapidly recovered, 'because wars in those days were not maintained at the expense of posterity'. Rome had to check the Illyrian pirates and to complete the conquest of Cisalpine Gaul and the Ligurians 238-221 B.C. Meanwhile the Carthaginians, hampered by a three years' rebellion of its mercenary troops, quietly permitted the Romans to take possession of Corsica and Sardinia, and agreed to pay 1,200 talents as compensation to Roman merchants. On the other hand, measures were in process to re-establish the Carthaginian power, the patriotic party, the Barcine family, under Hamilcar, commenced the carrying out of the extensions and consolidations of the territories in Spain.—W. B. Boyce, *Intro. to the Study of Hist.*, period 4, sect. 4.

ALSO IN: Polybius, *Histories*, bk. 1.—R. B. Smith, *Carthage*, ch. 4-7.—A. J. Church, *The Story of Carthage*, pt. 4, ch. 1-3.—See, also, PUNIC WAR, THE FIRST.

B. C. 218-211.—The Second Punic War; Hannibal in Italy.—Cannæ.—"Twenty-three years passed between the end of the first Punic War and the beginning of the second. But in the meanwhile the Romans got possession, rather unfairly, of the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, which Carthage had kept by the peace. On the other hand a Carthaginian dominion was growing up in Spain under Hamilcar Barca, one of the greatest men that Carthage ever raised, his son-in-law Hasdrubal, and his son Hannibal, the

greatest man of all, and probably the greatest general that the world ever saw. Another quarrel arose between Carthage and Rome, when Hannibal took the Spanish town of Saguntum, which the Romans claimed as an ally. War began in 218, and Hannibal carried it on by invading Italy by land. This was one of the most famous enterprises in all history. Never was Rome so near destruction as in the war with Hannibal. He crossed the Alps and defeated the Romans in four battles, the greatest of which was that of Cannæ in B.C. 216.—E. A. Freeman, *Outlines of Hist. (or Gen'l Sketch of European Hist.)*, ch. 3.—"The first battle was fought (218) on the river Ticinus, which runs into the Padus from the north. The Romans were driven back, and Hannibal passed the Padus. Meanwhile another Roman army had come up, and its general, the consul, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, wanted to fight at once. The little river of the Trebbia lay between the two armies, and on a cold morning the Roman general marched his soldiers through the water against Hannibal. The Romans were entirely beaten, and driven out of Gaul. All northern Italy had thus passed under Hannibal's power, and its people were his friends, so next year, 217, Hannibal went into Etruria, and marched south towards Rome itself, plundering as he went. The Roman consul, Caius Flaminius Nepos, went to meet him, and a battle was fought on the shores of the Lake Trasimene. It was a misty day and the Romans who were marching after Hannibal, were surrounded by him and taken by surprise. They were entirely beaten, and the consul was killed in battle. Then the Romans were in great distress, and elected a dictator, Quintus Fabius Maximus. He saw that it was no use to fight battles with Hannibal, so he followed him about and watched him, and did little things against him when he could, so he was called 'Cunctator,' or 'the Delayer'. But, although this plan of waiting was very useful, the Romans did not like it, for Hannibal was left to plunder as he thought fit, and there was always danger that the other Italians would join him against Rome. So next year, 216, the Romans made a great attempt to get rid of him. They sent both the consuls with an army twice as large as Hannibal's, but again they were defeated at Cannæ. They lost 70,000 men, while Hannibal only lost 6,000. All their best soldiers were killed, and it seemed as though they had no hope left. But nations are not conquered only by the loss of battles. Hannibal hoped, after the battle of Cannæ, that the Italians would all come to his side, and leave Rome. Some did so, but all the Latin cities, and all the Roman colonies held by Rome. So long as this was the case, Rome was not yet conquered. Hannibal could win battles very quickly but it would take him a long time to besiege all the cities that still held to Rome, and for that he must have a larger army. But he could not get more soldiers,—the Romans had sent an army into Spain, and Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal, was busy fighting the Romans there, and could not send any troops to Italy. The Carthaginians also would not send any, for they were becoming afraid of Hannibal, and they did not know anything about Italy. So they answered his letters, asking for more men, by saying, that if he had won such great battles, he